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WASHINGTON WIRE

PHILADELPHIA

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION is meeting here to let the bosses decide who will be our next President. As it started, there was less certainty of the ultimate candidate than at any time since 1920, when the Wood-Lowden deadlock developed and Harry Daugherty coined the phrase "a smoke-filled room." Then the bosses gave us Harding.

Several things are evident. First, the very ferocity of the preliminary battle indicates how confident Republicans are that it carries the presidency. Second, the lucky man is going to have the biggest campaign chest in American history. Every vested interest in America is preparing to buy a stake in the next four years. They should be something to watch, too.

The third point is that isolation is once more with us. That fact can't be hidden no matter what syrupy words are poured on the foreign-policy plank. Europe knows it. Russia knows it.

The shocked surprise with which some of our good friends at home are discovering a fact which we, in our modest way, have been stressing for quite a while, fills us with mixed emotions. Do they forget the wool-tariff grab that Congress almost passed at the time of the Geneva trade-agreement conference? Passage of the bill would have wrecked the conference. And now the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act has been extended for only one year, just enough time to bridge the election and let the new and probably Republican 81st Congress get to work on high tariffs.

The House's attempt to slash the Marshall Plan funds also told its own story of the Neanderthal men and ideas that run a big section of the GOP. The Republicans are split down the middle. The object of the convention here is to hide and minimize that cleavage, but it is there all the same. An internationalist like Vandenberg as President would still have to work with John Taber, Leo Allen and Harold Knutson in the House.

It always startles us that sensible people can take party platforms seriously. It is going to be a little harder to fool the gullible this year, however. All one has to do is to go back and read the 1944 GOP platform, and see how meaningless this oratorical breast-beating is. For example, four years ago the Republicans promised sweeping housing legislation. What ever became of it?

Good old Herbert Hoover warned against "creeping totalitarianism" in unions, universities and government. You can't cut the corporation taxes, he told the Republicans, and Europe had better understand that foreign aid is running thin. Hoover must feel happy. He has lived a full life and now in the bright autumn of his declining years, sees the Republican Party coming into its own again at about the point it left off when he was so shamefully treated in 1932. This whippersnapper Truman has been going around the Northwest preaching public power. Now Hoover expects to see the voters do to Truman what they did to him. Well may the "good, gray President" who signed the Chinese-wall Smoot-Hawley tariff law which helped precipitate World War II feel that the circle is nearly complete.

Isolationist Governor Green of Illinois spoke in a different vein from Hoover. It was utter Republican reactionaryism. The delighted audience cheered as Colonel McCormick's spokesman vilified the New Deal. Pegler couldn't have struck a better GOP keynote.

President Truman is back in Washington after making 73 speeches on his 9,000-mile trip, most of which we heard. Some still hope that the Demo-

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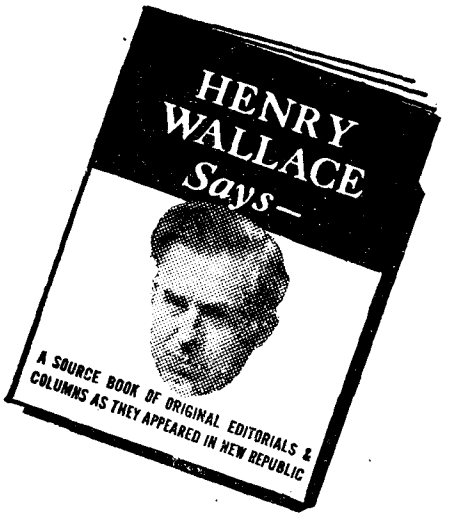

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crats will nominate Eisenhower (whose views nobody knows) or maybe Douglas, whom we tremendously admire. We are willing to be convinced of this, but we believe the chances are remote.

Truman's trip got off to a bad start in the flop at Omaha, Nebraska, but after that, things picked up. He had a big crowd at Seattle, an immense crowd at Los Angeles. We shock easily and admit we were a little shocked at *Life's* article last week, "The Truman Train Stumbles West," with its snide keynote, "crowds were small nearly everywhere." The *Life* statement simply isn't true.

What the trip showed was that the Democratic machine has almost ceased to exist in most of the states covered, that Truman must carry the whole load himself if nominated, that he has terrible staff work, and that his reading of prepared addresses is anything but stimulating.

What it also showed was that when Truman tears up prepared speeches and talks naturally on a subject he knows something about, he is surprisingly good. The choice is between Truman grammatical without punch, and Truman with punch and ungrammatical. The trip also showed that the public likes to hear Congress attacked and (we like to think) is really pretty liberal at heart.

Truman has nailed the New Deal flag to his mast. It's a pity he didn't do it sooner. We think, moreover, that the Republicans are underestimating Truman as a campaigner. There's gratification in watching a rather mild, temperate, long-suffering man finally blow off steam against a reactionary Congress. And what a record he has to work on! The ore is practically inexhaustible. This election may be more entertaining than we had supposed.

Truman hasn't picked his putative running-mate yet, but we rather suspect it may be Senator Joe O'Mahoney of Wyoming. He would give the ticket strength and dignity. Incidentally, he is a Catholic, which has interesting connotations, too.

Philadelphia T. R. B.

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 26, ISSUE 1752, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 28, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

Thoughts of November Ruled

The session was finally closing. All through the damp June evening, Senators and Representatives lounged in their seats listening, sometimes listlessly, sometimes intently, to the talk that was slowly turning bills into new laws.

With the Republican convention only two days away, the GOP members were eager to be off to Philadelphia and the big fight where new political fortunes would be won or lost. For all the dignity implicit in its power, Congress seemed a backwater on this Saturday night.

But the 80th Congress could not adjourn yet. There was work to be done that might have an effect at Philadelphia. Three men who aspire to the presidency—Taft, Vandenberg and Martin—were all still at work in the legislative chambers and at the same time in constant touch with Philadelphia advisers.

At last, around midnight, a phone call came through from Philadelphia. Party leaders there had agreed on one thing—Congress must not adjourn till it had passed bills which at least mentioned the words housing and farm subsidies, no matter how empty the measures might really be. How could the platform-makers draft glittering phrases on these subjects if the Republican-controlled Congress had failed to act on them? How could the nominee, whoever he might be, face the farmers if subsidies were suddenly ended? Wearily, congressional leaders agreed to keep on the job.

So, in the dead hours between midnight and dawn the House and Senate passed a "compromise" bill which had little to do with housing. It did nothing more than allow veterans to extend the time in which they may pay off mortgages, a measure for which the National Mortgage Association had been lobbying for many months.

When they met after the phone call from Philadelphia, neither Senator Taft, co-sponsor of the mildly progressive Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, nor Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.), bitter opponent of public housing, could agree on anything more vital. The measure provides no public housing, no slum clearance, does nothing to make materials more readily available to private builders and will be worse than useless even in GOP campaign oratory. A similar "compromise" granted extension of farm subsidies until 1950 and bypassed the complicated problems of farm economics.

But it was in the matter of housing that the weaknesses and inadequacies of the 80th Congress were glaringly defined, more clearly than by the diatribes of President Truman on his Western tour.

The Senate already had approved the Taft bill, and a few days ago there seemed a chance that it might squeak through the House in some form. To get it out of committee, 171 members signed the necessary petition. They would have made a sizable opposition to Wolcott's inadequate measure if they had followed through. But only 90 voted against Wolcott's bill when it came up. When the roll was called, Democrats gave public housing no better support than did Republicans. In truth, the Democratic voting record in this Congress is only a few shades better than that of the GOP.

On this important issue, neither the Democratic Minority Leader, Sam Rayburn of Texas, nor his party Whip, John McCormack (Mass.), bothered to rally party members into line behind a measure which would have helped implement the President's own national program. That program, presented by Truman as proof positive that he is the heir of Democratic liberalism, has had little support from Democrats in Congress and, strangely enough, scant practical support from the President himself.

Even though faced with a hostile

Dr. Kinsey Take Notice

THE UNITED NATIONS has a nasty little case on its hands which has nothing to do with Russia or Israel. It has been petitioned by the St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, of London, concerning the rather greedy domestic habits of a tribal sovereign in the British Cameroons.

The fellow is not a proper king, but is what's called a fon. Fon or king, he rules the Bikom tribe in a way that leaves no doubt about who's the boss. The petitioners say that, not satisfied with 600 wives, he's going beyond all limits by forcibly recruiting new brides, and child-brides at that.

With its genius for bearing the white man's burden, the British Colonial Office rose to the fon's defense. It is not true, the Colonial Office wrote the UN, that the blighter has 600 wives—the total is only 110, and of these 44 were inherited from predecessors and could no longer bear children anyway. Only one female in the compound had not reached puberty, last time the Colonial Office checked things over. She had been brought there, the British said, "in an irregular manner by a son of the fon" and has now been restored to her family.

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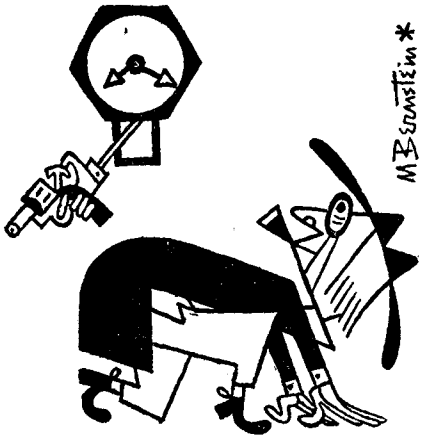

majority in Congress, a President has tremendous power, particularly over members of his own party, to influence legislation. Democrats in this Congress feel they have been ignored and deserted by their own chief. Time after time (witness the civil-rights program), such leaders as Rayburn and Senator Barkley have not been taken into the confidence of the White House. The result has been a demoralized, leaderless opposition to the Republican steamroller. The Republicans, for their part, have behaved much as the gloomiest prophets predicted.

One of the bitterest fights of the session was staged in the conference committee designed to compose Senate-House differences over ECA funds. The master bookkeeper of the House, Representative John Taber (R, N. Y.), was bent on keeping the "15-month stretchout" clause that, in effect, would have cut ECA funds some 26 percent. And the committee conferees could not have been stacked better to help him. Among them were Senators Brooks, Reed, Bridges and McKellar, all unfriendly to ECA. The House sent an equally inimical delegation. So it must be said to the credit of Senator Styles Bridges (R, N. H.) that he fought a valiant battle to preserve ECA funds, fought for ECA because that was the majority will of the Senate rather than because he personally favored it.

The compromise, eventually approved by both houses, keeps Taber's beloved 15-month clause but modifies it by permitting the President, upon the advice of his ECA administrator, to spend all the funds in one year if necessary. To gain this concession, $535 million in total funds was sacrificed. The net effect was not to increase European confidence in Republican intentions next year.

On European aid as well as on such vital subjects as peacetime conscription, congressional oratory never rose to the moral level of the matters under discussion. Old arguments, long since shorn of power to convince, were mouthed over again. The galleries, jammed with spectators long after midnight, were quick to sense this. At one point, when a Southerner floridly referred to his colleagues as "the 537 outstanding intellects of the nation," a wave of derisive laughter swept the galleries.

To the public the monotonous yeas and nays, shouted above the buzz of conversation and the constant movement, seemed the voting of careless buffoons. What could not be seen by the outside spectators was that the real work of Congress was being done, as usual, in committee. That could not have been demonstrated better than in the draft matter.

When Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, New Party vice-presidential candidate, tied up the Senate with a filibuster against conscription, the Senate floor was emptied quickly. Technically the Senate was unable to accomplish any other business. But when the filibuster was broken by a parliamentary device next day, the Senate immediately was presented with a conference compromise report on the draft which had been agreed upon in committee during the filibustering and even before the Senate actually had passed the draft for the first time.

The Steering, Rules and Appropriations Committees which run Congress are a better place to look out for party interests than on the open floor. But though these powerful committees are in Republican hands, they have not been able to achieve a very impressive record. ECA has been approved only grudgingly, billions appropriated for defense, and conscription ordered. On issues closer to voters' hearts, the Republicans have flubbed on housing and farm prices, and done absolutely nothing about inflation, which may, when the voters think it over, have been the greatest sin of all.

If proceedings in the all-night session had been broadcast, the voters could have heard their congressmen taking an occasional recess from their Olympian labors as the night wore on. Then they could have heard them gathered in the well of the House to sing barbershop harmony, play the harmonica and tell Irish jokes over the microphone. They could have heard half the House join in a parody of "Sweet Genevieve," which begins: "Oh margarine, sweet margarine."

To have sung a swan-song about oleo was no accident. The issue of whether or not to repeal the oleo tax had raised longer and more bitter debates than ECA, the draft or rearmament. On oleo, the members of the 80th Congress felt as deeply as Clay, Calhoun, Webster and other worthy ghosts felt about states' rights in their day.

And until the last moment, when the clock above Speaker Martin said 6:55 a.m., the rain had stopped and the sun risen, thoughts of November ruled all. Congress adjourned, but left recall up to its own leaders. Final adjournment might give President Truman an opening, they feared, to call them back into special session to face all the unpleasant issues they had dodged.

MARITIME "COOL-OFF"

The cool-off clause in the Taft-Hartley Act, which experience shows might better be called the warm-up clause, is being tested again in the threatened strike of seven maritime unions against 228 shipping companies and associations.

The dispute between the AFL atomic-energy workers and the Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation, operating the government-owned plant at Oak Ridge, has just proved what all experienced labor negotiators already knew and had warned against when the Taft-Hartley Act was in the making, namely, that the 80-day wait for cooling off

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only heats up the situation hotter than ever.

After all delaying tactics had been tried, the company raised its "final offer" of 10 cents more an hour to 15½ cents and the union signed, just as it would have agreed to a reasonable offer in the first place. All the cool-off achieved was to stimulate tension and uncertainty in the laboratories, which could hardly have been intended by the gentlemen who wrote the law.

The day after the Oak Ridge settlement the Justice Department took steps to avert the shipping strike which had been scheduled for June 15. The basic issue in that quarrel is the union hiring hall—a device which helped unions wipe out company favoritism and financial kickbacks in hirings.

The companies claim that the T-H Act's anti-closed-shop clause forbids the hiring hall. The unions, in addition to wage demands, argue the halls should be continued until the National Labor Relations Board and the courts give binding interpretations of the statute.

Ten-day restraining orders were issued, maintaining the status quo until June 24 at least, after which the 10 days would be extended to complete the 80-day "cool-off" unless the courts chose to let nature take its course.

On the West Coast union men hinted at a slowdown to circumvent the T-H Act. Harry Bridges, of the Longshoremen, observed: "There's nothing in the court order that says we have to break our backs on the job," and Hugh Bryson, of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, said his union was going to institute "a safety campaign."

A THOUSAND TIMES NO

If President Truman is remembered by progressives with any affection at all it will be for saying no, again and again and again.

Many of the hardest blows struck by the 80th Congress against the edifice of the New Deal had to be repeated after the President had countered them with strong, ably written veto messages. These included the "Relief for the Greedy" tax bill, the Taft-Hartley law, the exclusion of news vendors from social security, the wool high-tariff bill and the bill for a National Science Foundation that would have left out the social sciences and given patent rights too liberally to private groups.

In the last few days, the President has added three sound vetoes to this list. His total thus far—137—is far short of FDR's 631 and Cleveland's 475, but the relative shortness of his period in office and the nature of the issues involved make it an impressive record.

Come to the Fair

VIENNA

HUNGARY'S summer tourist season opened auspiciously this week when several hundred US Army officers, intelligence agents, informers, State and War Department employees and Military Government men poured out of Vienna to Budapest to "visit the fair," marking the centenary of 1848.

The tourists also included US journalists who haven't been able to receive visas from the Hungarian Foreign Office for many months. The "tourist" influx is made possible by the fact that visas for the fair are issued by the Hungarian Travel Bureau here, instead of being referred to Budapest. They are good for one month, or long after the fair ends.

Intelligence agents, who have been reporting on Hungary for months without having been there, could hardly believe it when they received not only Hungarian visas but also Soviet travel permits through the Russian zone of Austria. They are sure there's some catch to it. But the curtain is up for the first time since Hungary became serious about the new order of things. For this, there are simple reasons: one, Hungary can use the Yankee dollar; two, the Hungarian government no longer seems particularly worried by the effectiveness of our Intelligence.

ALEXANDER KENDRICK

Safe

THE NEW YORK COUNTY Democratic Committee has a new project on foot. The committee, as reported in *Tide*, is starting a regular television series designed to show the embittered taxpayer where his money goes, and what, if anything, he gets for it.

Political observers were prompt to predict that the new idea would be widely copied by public officials seeking to break bad news to their constituents. It is not much use, they pointed out, to throw rotten eggs at the image on a television screen.

One of these last three was a bill sponsored by Representative Bertrand W. Gearhart (R, Calif.) which would keep an estimated 750,000 persons outside the social-security system. The origin of this measure was a decision of the Supreme Court last year allowing salesmen, commission men and others not on straight salary to share social-security benefits. The Treasury early this year prepared to implement the decision, but the NAM and newspaper publishers whose vendors would benefit convinced certain Representatives that extension of the social-security system was the exclusive right of Congress. It took political courage to veto the bill because its GOP sponsors had written into it a provision boosting the amount of federal aid for the indigent aged, the blind, and dependent children.

The veto of the Labor Department-Federal Security Agency appropriation bill, the first appropriation-bill veto in 14 years, was largely the result of a rider transferring the US Employment Service from Labor to the FSA. Truman said that the riders had no place in a money bill. He might have pointed out that the move was part of the GOP campaign to cripple the Labor Department.

The Bulwinkle-Reed bill, also vetoed, is a straight lobby-special interest job. It exempts railroad rate agreements from the anti-trust laws, provided they have been approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission,

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a body which has long yielded to the railroads. The roads needed the bill as a weapon against increasing agitation in the South and the West against discriminatory freight rates. Georgia Representatives believe it seriously hurt the prospects for the state's suit against various rail lines.

Cynics say it was easy for Truman to veto the social-security and Labor-FSA bills because he knew they would be passed anyway. A more valid charge is that he failed to fight to make the vetoes stick. The last three were quickly overridden by the required two-thirds majorities, which included many Democrats. The fact that Truman was off politicking 3,000 miles away did not help matters.

MILK—23 CENTS A QUART

If organized New York milk producers and distributors get their way, consumers throughout the US will be paying a minimum of 23 cents a quart for milk this fall, an increase of two cents over the present price and of 12 cents over the 1940 price. Moreover, the boost will also mean higher prices throughout the nation for other dairy products.

This possibility emerged from hearings that the US Department of Agriculture conducted last week in New York to set the price of milk in the New York area for the coming season. And as a result, both federal and local authorities announced plans for investigations into the circumstances of a price increase greater than that for comparable commodities. Mayor O'Dwyer said the city would begin an inquiry to learn whether there has been collusion among large wholesalers and retailers in pricing, and the Department of Agriculture made known that it would look into pricing practices not only in New York but in Boston and Philadelphia.

During the New York hearings, the Milk Dealers' Association, representing the large dairy companies, supported demands of the organized suppliers for an increase in the wholesale price of class-one milk to $6.34 per hundredweight this fall as compared with the 1940 price of $2.65. Sharp interchanges between the dealer-distributor group and representatives of independent dealers and consumer groups made it clear that the higher price would not necessarily mean bringing more milk into the New York area. On the other hand, it would have the effect of jacking up prices in the rest of the country because dealers in other areas bid up prices to prevent their supply from being diverted to New York.

In addition, the higher price throughout the country would not increase the general supply of milk. Despite previous increases since the end of the OPA, the production of milk has dropped sharply. The principal reason is that the number of milk cows has been steadily declining since 1939. At the same time the population has increased.

Higher fluid-milk prices would lead to increases in other dairy products because cheese and ice cream have to compete for the raw milk. These high-priced products can meet the challenge of milk bought largely by lower-income-group families, so even more fluid milk may be used for cheese and ice cream.

Testimony at the hearings documented the diversion of much needed milk to more profitable outlets since the end of control. Per-capita consumption of milk products is running lower than at any time in recent history. Nineteen forty-eight levels are below 1947, when consumption was 793 pounds per person as compared with a depression 1935-39 average of 801 pounds, and an average of 810 during the boom years of 1925-29. In 1947 cheese production took 9.85 percent of US milk as compared with 6.29 percent in 1935-39 and a 1925-29 average of 4.92. Ice cream, the biggest money maker for dairy companies, used 6.1 percent of last year's supply of milk, more than twice the highest prewar level.

So far as the dairy companies are concerned, the higher prices have more than made up for the drop in the volume of milk. National Dairy, largest in the field, showed a profit of $23.1 million in 1947 compared to its 1939 earnings of $12.3 million. Borden's did even better: its 1947 take of $19.8 million was 254 percent of its 1939 net income.

As the New York hearing drew to a close, it looked as if the consumer couldn't win. This was the inevitable result that economists had foreseen during the futile fight to retain OPA price controls and subsidies. Now, in desperation the consumer groups are asking the cities to take over the distribution of milk.

NO REVIEW

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review the case of Dr. Edward K. Barsky leaves a two-to-one ruling of the US Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia as the last word in a matter of principle vital to the conduct of a democratic society.

(Continued on page 10)

CARE for Tiburtino

ALL OUR THANKS are due to Henry B. Sell; Max Mendel; Edwin L. Dale Jr.; Mrs. Margaret Davis; Mrs. Julia Jahren; Benjamin A. Benedict; Saul G. Roman; Francis W. Irwin; Miss Grace Morin; Robert C. Gaede; A. J. Levin; E. H. Yates; Miss Josephine Chandler; Miss Marian L. Brockway; Miss Billie Miller; Mrs. L. A. Headley; Mrs. Joseph Purcell; John R. Owens; C. A. Brekke; Miss Edith T. Phillips; and other readers of the *New Republic* who responded very generously to our appeal for funds to send CARE packages to the half-starved village of Tiburtino, outside Rome.

We have bought the CARE packages with these funds and they will soon be delivered by Mrs. Rosetta Rubsamen of the American Embassy in Rome, who writes to tell us that the need remains greater than ever. This aid, she says, "can become not only a means to meet the physical need, it can also be a means toward education in community organization."

The *NR* intends to keep a continuing interest in the welfare of Tiburtino and to report to its readers on conditions there.

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THE PRICE OF TRIZONIA

SINCE the Stuttgart speech of James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State, US policy in Germany has been directed toward the unification of the US, British and French zones. The announced reason—aside from Soviet provocation—has always been to speed German economic rehabilitation for the sake of European and general world recovery.

Now that the six-power London agreement brings three-zone unity nearer realization, Trizonia, from an economic point of view, more than ever shapes up like three left shoes. The prospect is not pretty for the German people, for the American taxpayer or for European recovery.

The greatest weakness of Trizonia economy is the inability of the area to feed itself. Before the war it produced only half of its agricultural needs. Now it has six million more residents, many of them old people or young children who sought refuge at the end of the war.

Moreover, because of the lack of fertilizer, agricultural equipment and manpower, production is below the prewar level. In 1938 the area produced 10,200 tons of grain, while in 1947 its output dropped to 4,800 tons. Food shortages, poor health and morale contribute to low industrial production.

Last year, Bizonia cost the US roughly $1 billion, of which the largest item was its share in a food bill of $516 million. In January of this year, General Clay reported that AMG would ask Congress for $700 million for food for the current year, and $2.2 billion for the coming four years.

In their zone, a more productive agricultural area, the French have been living off the land. Nevertheless, because much of the area is planted in fruits and vineyards, the French have had to ship in basic food supplies to maintain a minimum of rations.

With the US supporting the economies of Britain and France under ERP, the cost of Trizonia to the US for the next few years, directly or indirectly, will come to several billion dollars annually. As a matter of fact, the Level of Industries Plan announced in January, 1948, pointed out that until Bizonia could export $2 billion worth of goods each year, it would not be economically self-sufficient. At the present time, its exports are about one-tenth of that figure.

The situation is likely to get much worse if relations with the Soviet part of Germany worsen, as they presumably will following unification. From available indications, both the agriculture and the industry of the Soviet zone have recovered better than in the western zones. It has a surplus of food and coal, two commodities that are urgently needed in the west.

While most of the industrial and agricultural surplus was being siphoned off to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, an agreement was drawn up in November, 1947, providing for $30 million trade between the Soviet and western zones during 1948. Cutting off or reducing this trade will prolong the United States' burden of supporting Germany.

The US program for meeting this situation seems to be the rebuilding of German heavy industry. For example, in apparent violation of the Potsdam Agreement, an aluminum plant near Munich has been reactivated and is now producing at the rate of 12,000 tons a year. On June 11, it was announced that the Western powers were permitting German authorities to make use of existing industrial cartels or to create new ones in the effort to up German production. In most cases, the German authorities and industry groups in charge of this program are those which operated the prewar cartels.

Another indication of the trend was the announcement that Hugo Stinnes Jr., possibly the wealthiest German industrialist, has been cleared by a denazification court of any culpable Nazi affiliation. Coming after the exoneration of 12 Krupp officials and the pronouncement by the court that "rearmament of itself is not criminal," it carries the plain implication that the US is rebuilding Germany as an industrial bulwark against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, there is unrest in the western zones. Much farm produce finds its way into the black market. Repeated hunger strikes have been accompanied by demands that the Western powers feed workers at least as well as Germans are fed in the Soviet zone. Johannes Semmler was removed as Bizonal Economic Director after having denounced the US, Britain and France as "looters of Germany."

The unification of western Germany will not help improve US relations with the Germans who have now obtained everything the US has to give them: economic subsidy, political power and the abdication of Military Government. Thus, for any improvement in their situation, the Germans will have to turn to the Soviets. In future bidding for the affections of the Germans, the Soviets will offer food, raw materials and markets, while the US will have only more money to give.

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(Continued from page 8)

Dr. Barsky answered a subpoena of the Un-American Activities Committee but refused to turn over the records of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee of which he is executive-board chairman. Tried in Washington on a charge of contempt of Congress, he was convicted and sentenced to serve six months in jail and to pay a $500 fine. Ten other leaders of the refugee committee also were convicted and sentenced.

In his own defense Barsky argued that the investigatory power of a congressional committee did not permit violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution. Denying that the refugee committee was subversive, he challenged the constitutionality of the Thomas committee. Another factor in the refusal to submit the records was the fear that disclosure of the names of anti-Fascists would subject them to further persecution in foreign countries.

The Court of Appeals rejected Barsky's arguments because, in the words of Justice Prettyman, "the possibility that invalid as well as valid legislation might ensue from an inquiry does not limit the power of inquiry." In dissent, Justice Edgerton said that "congressional action that is either intended or likely to restrict expression of opinion that Congress may not prohibit, violates the First Amendment."

In refusing to review the case, the Supreme Court took no stand on the legalities involved. Lawyers specializing in civil liberties point out that while the Court was entirely within its rights in refusing to consider the question of principle, it remains a matter of grave moment that the nation's highest court should shirk a decision on an issue fundamental both politically and morally.

In his dissent Justice Edgerton pointed out that the Un-American Activities Committee sought to accomplish by publicity, intimidation and harassment what it could not do by law. "No one denies," he said, "that the inquest is an effective means of restraint. I hope the last word has not been said on the question whether it is a legal one."

Unless the Supreme Court grants a rehearing of the case in the fall, it will have ruled that the last word has been said. And it will have ducked a moral issue of paramount importance.

BEHIND THE POTTED PALMS

LOS ANGELES (NR correspondent)

Bitter Democratic factional quarrels made President Truman's Los Angeles visit an occasion for great political delicacy. At the luncheon given by the Greater Los Angeles Press Club, the gentlemen of the press for once sat at the speakers' table while the big politicos were way back behind the potted palms. The reason was the problem of deciding between the factions headed by State Chairman Jimmy Roosevelt and the ex-National Treasurer, Ed Pauley of oil fame.

As usual, Truman's speech got an A for effort but few converts. Southern Californians were more interested in how he treated the two factions. Roosevelt's 40-man delegation to Philadelphia was led up the back stairs of the Ambassador Hotel to see the President. It was miffed to have only 15 minutes with him and also by the fact that some of Pauley's men seemed to have the run of the presidential suite. Things got hotter when Tom Scully of the Pauley faction, who had been defeated by Roosevelt for the state chairmanship, arranged a cocktail-party list for the President, carefully omitting Roosevelt's name. However, both Roosevelt and Pauley did have private huddles with Truman.

DRAWING BY ELI JACOBI

When Roosevelt was asked if he had smoked a peace pipe with Truman he commented, "No smoke." And though he said the California delegation was pledged to the President, he left the impression that things might be different after the first ballot in Philadelphia.

In the Pacific Northwest, before coming here, Truman's attack on Congress fell on generally fertile ground. Many persons in that area have felt for some time that Eastern congressmen, lacking real understanding of the Far West's problems, have tended to keep it, like the South, in a colonial status.

"Lay it on, Harry," a voice shouted at Bremerton, Washington, site of the Puget Sound navy yard.

Truman's slams at Congress grew bolder as he progressed from crowd to crowd. Given a good opening by the destructive floods, he lashed Congress for cutting appropriations for reclamation and power development, and hit hard at the private-power lobby responsible for blocking Western development.

The Northwest tour reached its climax in Seattle, where more than 100,000 people crowded downtown streets. Margaret frequently drew more applause than her father. In Portland, where she and her mother bypassed the parade, there was a good deal of disappointment among the women in the crowds.

A measure of the difference between how many people wanted to see Truman and how many wanted to listen to him was also given in Seattle. The High School Memorial stadium, which seats 12,000, was only half-full for his speech, almost exactly the same size crowd as Henry Wallace drew on May 21 at $1 a throw.

The President's two-night visit with Governor Mon C. Wallgren of Washington, his old Senate chum, renewed talk of a Truman-Wallgren ticket. There is no doubt that Wallgren, who has already seen some Republican handwriting on State of Washington walls, would like to have the honor—and the job if that is in the cards.

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

The Singing People

FOR A LONG TIME, when I have thought of American folksongs, I have thought of ballads as collected by John and Alan Lomax, and sung by Burl Ives.

Long before his appearance in "Sing Out, Sweet Land" and his radio fame, Burl Ives had fascinated me with his geniality and his real joy in the music of the past. He used to come to our apartment in Washington and sing for us, first explaining the history of each song. We could picture Lincoln enjoying "The Blue Tail Fly."

Songs on records have long attracted me ever since I used Mexican song records to help me learn to speak Spanish. I got a copy of the words of each recorded song and then tried singing with the phonograph. My voice and ability to carry a tune may not be very good, but in this way I am sure I got a feeling for the Spanish language I could not have otherwise attained. Many of the Spanish songs I used had been political ballads of various parties in Mexico, long ago.

In my early years, I had never thought much about music as a political force, although, like millions of others, I joined in singing "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," in the McKinley-Bryan campaign, "East Side, West Side," when Al Smith ran for President, and "Happy Days Are Here Again" in 1932 and after. Now, I am becoming convinced that when the people are deeply moved by the impulse to take constructive action, they sing. When they are afraid, the spirit of song dies away.

Traveling around the country in this political year, I am more and more impressed with the singing, and the singers, for the New Party. Paul Robeson, of course, is one of the great artists, as well as one of the great human beings, of all time. One thing that interests me about Paul is the way he has learned to sing in many languages.

It has often seemed to me that when a person learns another language he acquires another soul, and especially when he learns to sing another people's songs. On that basis, Paul Robeson has at least half a dozen souls, including the Hebrew.

In the American West, the people's music has a vigor all its own, perhaps because in this region people feel more free. One impressive Western singer, for both his voice and his personality, is Mike Loring of Portland, Oregon. We loved hearing him sing:

Roll on, Columbia, roll on,
Your power will turn the darkness to dawn.

This song has a tune which even the tuneless can sing. It gives a wonderful sense of the resistless might of a great river. I am told that the private-power interests of the Northwest do not like this song, because they feel that the second line may somehow be subversive of their best interests.

Another favorite song that is sung by Mike Loring is entitled "Acres of Clams." It tells the story of a man who became a venerated pioneer in the Northwest for the simple reason that he couldn't get away.

Among professional singers of folksongs, I remember with pleasure Mrs. Mechau of Colorado Springs, who was assisted by her four children, ranging in age from 10 to 16. One of their numbers is a striking "Hound Dog" song composed for them by a student at Colorado College. In Colorado, also (at Aspen), is Richard Dyer-Bennett, who is internationally famous for his work with the old English folk music which still survives among the mountaineers of our South.

In the mountains north of Taos, New Mexico, there is Jenny Wells, with a vast repertory ranging from early English and Mexican ballads to labor songs of the present day. Special New Party words have been written to the old Mexican song, "Adelita." The most popular New Party song in the West, however, is "The Same Merry-Go-Round," rendered when possible with calliope accompaniment. The people love to shout:

The donkey and elephant bob up and down
On the same merry-go-round.

One of the most appealing of Jenny's songs is "Passing Through":

I saw Jesus on the Cross
On that hill called Calvary.
"Do you hate mankind for what they done to you?"
He said, "Talk of love and not of hate.
Things to do, it's getting late.
I've so little time and I'm just passing through."

Then comes a lovely chorus in which everyone joins, and the moving last verse:

Was at Franklin Roosevelt's side
Just awhile before he died.
He said, "One world must come out of World War II."
Yankee, Russian, white or tan,
Lord, a man is just a man.
We're all brothers and we're only passing through.

When people start singing a song like that, and sing it as they do in the Western country nowadays, it means something.

Henry A Wallace

The quotations from "Roll on, Columbia," by Woody Guthrie, from "The Same Merry-Go-Round," by Roy Glaser and Bill Wolff, and from "Passing Through," by Dick Blakeslee, are by permission of the authors.

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ARMY OF THE DISCONTENTED

As strikes spread and conflict over French foreign policy grows, de Gaulle builds his party and waits

by Jack Winocour

MARSEILLES

THE SHAKINESS of the coalition government ruling France was never more clearly revealed than during this last week. No one could any longer fail to realize that Premier Schuman's government is at the mercy of US policies, both international and domestic. Whether or not the government survives the present crisis, it is plain that the crisis was "made in the US." Two events brought it about: the six-power accord on Germany, reached largely because of Washington's decision that the time has come to take another long step toward definite partition of Germany; and the action of the House Appropriations Committee in slashing ECA funds by 26 percent.

Such statements as that of Representative John Taber that "the best way to help Europe is to restore German industry," eat into the French consciousness like hydrochloric acid on a copper plate. Thus, Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, already beset by a violent political reaction against the German deal, ran into difficulties in trying to offset what was plainly a French diplomatic defeat on Germany by success in getting US aid. The Taber committee's wielding of the economic ax on foreign aid at this critical moment was also a blow at the foundations of the Schuman coalition, for never before has America's good faith been so critically on trial as at present.

Naturally, General Charles de-Gaulle was quick to take advantage of the situation, coming out with one of his strong blasts against the German deal, calling it an invitation to Soviet control of all of Germany. Perhaps the coalition will survive, but not without serious injury. And certainly de Gaulle is closer to power, thanks to the American government.

The General's Rally of the French People is stepping up its agitation for a speedy dissolution of Parliament. De-Gaulle has chosen to come to power again by constitutional means and his movement is banking on forcing a general election in which, it believes, both the Communists and the Third Force would lose heavily.

De Gaulle is older, grayer, plumper than he was during the war years. It is doubtful whether he is politically wiser. The mood of stiff-necked obstinacy, useful during the Resistance, is ill-suited to the less strenuous days of peace. Even his well-wishers like René Pleven, who has been striving, so far unsuccessfully, to bring about a working compromise between de-Gaulle and the Third Force, complain of his intractability. He has not changed his characteristic attitude to human relations which made Churchill complain bitterly that the worst cross he had to bear was the cross of Lorraine. The harshness of temperament which kept de Gaulle from taking Giraud's hand and brought about his quarrel with Roosevelt may once again be his worst enemy.

De Gaulle prefers the almost monastic solitude of his retreat at Colombey-les-Deux Eglises to the propaganda circuses promoted by his political advisers. Amid the frivolous *rejouissances* with which the Paris Gaullists celebrated their new-style May Day festivities, their leader was strangely out of place. Yet in spite of his preference for seclusion he has forced himself out into the hurly-burly of political activity once more.

The Gaullist Rally of the French People launched its bid for power in Strasbourg just over a year ago. Round the leader gathered men like André Malraux, Jacques Soustelle, Gaston Palewski, André Diethelm—a new generation of political activists, some of them drawn from the ranks of the wartime Free French movement, others resisters, like Malraux, who had broken with the Communist Party. Many others were old-line reactionaries who saw in de Gaulle's revival a chance to better their own situation.

A year ago, the omens were more or less favorable. On the far left, the Communists by their uncompromising truculence were frightening the timid French middle classes. In the center, the constituent parties of the government coalition, the Catholic MRP and the Socialists were jockeying for position, jostling in an uneasy proximity. On the right, Vichyites compromised by defeat and collaboration with the enemy were slowly trying to retrieve their political fortunes.

Once again it looked as though the sordid history of the Third Republic were about to repeat itself. The jealousies of the parties, the inefficiency of the enormous bureaucracy, inflation and the corruption of the black market, all combined to present a terrifying picture of French impotence.

De Gaulle concluded that his moment had come. He decided to reassert his claim to national leadership and to emerge from the hermitlike retreat into which he had withdrawn after his defeat on the referendum on the new constitution. He had demanded powers larger and more sweeping than any previously wielded by a French President. The people had turned him down, but the General reckoned that the voters were beginning to weary of the renewal of party strife and frustration.

The Rally had at once a fair measure of popular support. The name of de-Gaulle was still magic to many of the enthusiasts who had served him and their country during the war years. There were the men and women of London, Algiers and Brazzaville, as

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Jack Winocour, on the staff of the London Illustrated, was formerly head of the American Division of the British Ministry of Information.

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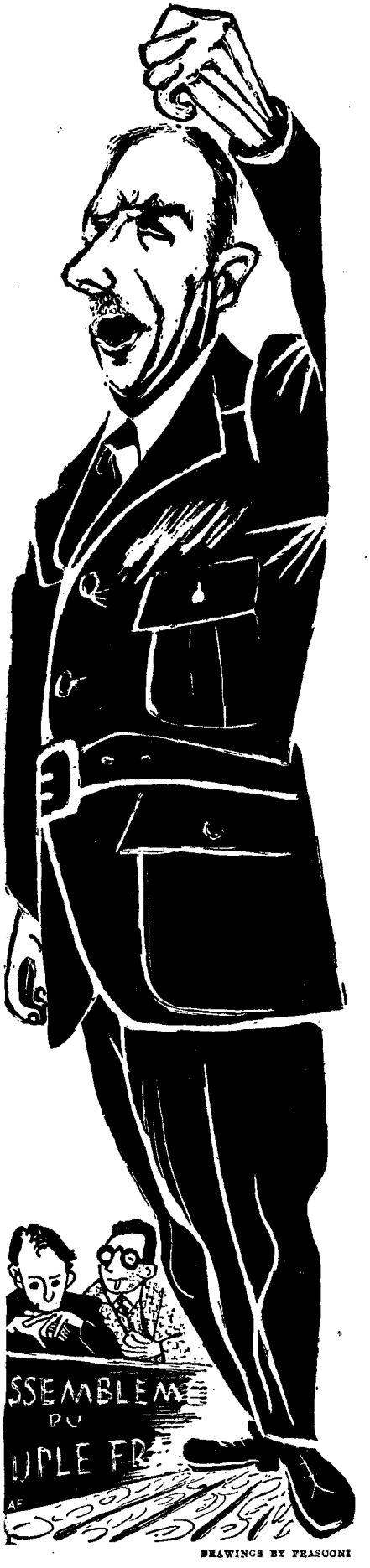
well as those of the Maquis who had not followed the Communist line. More symptomatic of the French malaise were his recruits from the ranks of the disillusioned, to whom the taste of victory was bitter. And there were others, too, more shadowy figures, who perhaps had flirted with de la Rocque's near-fascist Croix de Feu before the war and had managed to survive Vichy with comfort and profit.

De Gaulle raised an umbrella against communism and under its shelter gathered a great army of the discontented. The Communists themselves, by the violence of their invective and their destructively critical role in national affairs, culminating in the strike wave of last December, helped to consolidate their Gaullist opponents. By forcing Frenchmen to choose sides in what appeared to be a drawing of lines for civil war, they drove many of them, whose instinctive preference would have been to pursue the middle of the road, into the General's camp. Yet, the Communist armory against de Gaulle contained a number of telling shots.

Critics of Gaullism—and there are quite a few who would not be seen dead in Communist company—charge that the Rally has become a cloak for sinister elements, as well as a shield for malcontents. They accuse the Liberator of allowing himself to be used by professional politicians of the Right, who without the luster of de-Gaulle could not survive in public life. Most of all they dislike the Rally's *mystique* which concentrates all power in the massive personality of the leader. It is, they claim, far too reminiscent of prewar fascism.

But Gaullism grows, and every sign of schism in the government coalition assists it. Jacques Soustelle, secretary-general of the Rally, claimed more than one million and a half adherents on the basis of the last municipal election results and the outcome of the poll in Algeria. And at the present rate, the local elections next October should indicate a further strengthening of the General's following. Great demonstrations have been held in Bordeaux, Rennes, Lille, Compiègne, Marseilles and Paris.



DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

The first annual congress of the Rally took place in Marseilles in mid-April. Two thousand delegates attended to approve the program. To an observer they appeared a representative gathering of the French middle classes, although a sprinkling of working-class delegates suggested that some effort was being made to crack the Communist monopoly of trade-union support. The professional and intellectual classes were well represented.

Apart from a flamboyant public demonstration in the old port of Marseilles, which was divided from a Communist-led counter-demonstration by an imposing mobilization of the new Republican Security Companies drafted into the city by the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, the proceedings were orderly and the theatrical trappings of fascism were conspicuously absent. But there was no democratic discussion. Delegates applauded speeches and voted on resolutions without dissent, except for a clash of views on the subject of education, on which the Rally showed itself as divided as the government coalition.

As though in answer to critics of Gaullism who claim that it is purely a personal movement based on opposition to communism and loyal adherence to de Gaulle himself, the Rally produced a surprisingly detailed program on social security, financial reform, housing, and agricultural and industrial production, which contained numerous progressive features. But the oratory which drew the greatest response was that directed against the Communists and the Soviet Union.

For the Gaullists, the Communists are separatists who have deliberately excluded themselves from the body of the nation to serve a foreign master. It is as easy as that. And behind the Communists lies the Kremlin, a term frequently on the General's lips to denote the secrecy and sinister quality of Russian power. Frenchmen obsessed with anti-Communist hysteria

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and Russophobia find this invective much to their liking. But it cannot take the place of a program, and as long as the social discontents continue, of which the Communists are the most adept exploiters and manipulators, the Gaullists are not likely to breach the Communist strongholds in the organized working-class movement.

While the Gaullists say they will step up industrial production, safeguard the farmer, build more houses, purge the bureaucracy of incompetents, balance the budget, maintain family integrity, all these aims—to which every French political party would gladly subscribe—are based on the fundamental assumption that France will be assured a reasonable period of peace in a restored and revived Europe. But the Gaullist propaganda which stimulates and in turn is stimulated by anxiety and fear of war deprives its own domestic program of its very foundation.

Gaullism as a militant force must be at war at home, and the language of its leaders suggests a fatalistic and sometimes almost welcome acceptance of the imminence of war abroad. Hence its appeal to considerable sectors of the army. There are quite a few retired and active generals in the Rally's ranks. And next to anti-Communist rhetoric, de Gaulle's insistence on revival of France's military power brings him most applause from his followers.

This military nostalgia communicates itself even to de Gaulle's civilian aides, and influences even an intellectual opponent of militarism like Malraux. In his speech at the first congress of the Rally, pitched on a sincere note of urgent emotion, Malraux dwelt at length on the need to renew the medieval virtue of *chevalerie,* cited Du-Guesclin as a model, and enraptured the delegates.

Malraux's enemies accuse him of seeking to play Goebbels to de Gaulle's Hitler. The comparison is unjust, although much of the propaganda success of the movement springs from his sensitive appraisal of the current French mood. François Mauriac, a fellow novelist, says that Malraux is using de Gaulle to wage his own personal vendetta with the Communists, his former comrades in arms in China and Spain.

It is true that Malraux, like many another former Communist, as though to atone for some unmentionable sin, is first and loudest in his denunciation. The creative impulse which generated *La Condition Humaine* and *L'Espoir* has now channeled itself into politics of an unexpected kind. But Malraux best represents the revolt of the French intellectual of the Left against communism.

Another intellectual high in the Gaullist councils is young Jacques Soustelle, who at thirty-five has already had a distinguished career in science and government. Soustelle, chubby, black-haired and bespectacled, is the Rally's leading organizer, who presented at Marseilles a cheering progress report to his "companions" (which is the Gaullist substitute word for the already misappropriated "comrades").

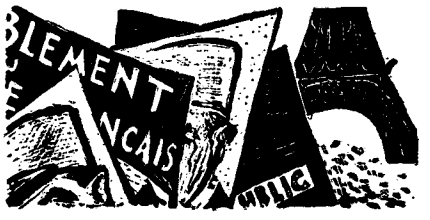
The appeal of Gaullism, as a crusading movement, is emotional, not intellectual. It is the sense of continuing crisis at home and abroad that is attracting millions of harassed and tormented Frenchmen to the General's standard. They are too conscious in their own daily lives of the decay of French economy. By class tradition or individual choice they must inevitably reject the Communist road, and the instability of the Third Force cannot win their confidence. They have seen the great and formidable armies which were once their pride and the terror of Europe dissolve into history. They would dearly love to be the rallying point of European revival, but they lack the material and moral force to reëstablish France's claim to continental leadership. They come to de-Gaulle because they believe that his severity, discipline and idealism may restore their faith in themselves and in France.

When de Gaulle mounts platform or rostrum, pins on medals, embraces his war comrades, during his occasional incursions into a French city from his retreat at Colombey, the outpouring of emotion is almost painful to watch. It comes from the legion of the frustrated and weary.

But there are other Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, too, who are weary of men of destiny. They suspect the centralization of personal power in the hands of the solitary individual. If we are to be at peace, they reason, there is no need for de Gaulle, whose hour was born of crisis. They believe that the high-water mark of Communist initiative in Western Europe has been reached and the tide is now ebbing eastwards. They hope, accordingly, for the achievement of an external and internal equilibrium that will avoid the need to choose between unpleasant extremes. The Italian elections may have marked the turning-point for de-Gaulle's Rally in spite of its youth and energy.

There is another and perhaps more important external factor working against the Rally's rise to power. The European Recovery Program will provide a powerful tonic for French economy, and the government which has obtained it will benefit.

But if the Rally's prospects of sweeping the existing parties into limbo as the result of some spectacular electoral success are visibly dying, there is still a strong possibility that de Gaulle himself may return to head the French state in spite of his adamant refusals in public utterance to entertain a compromise with the political parties. The shift is still to the Right in France. If the Communists, in a last despairing effort to retain their slackening grip on the working class, launch a new wave of strikes this summer, they may find that the General's attraction for their parliamentary opponents has become irresistible.



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IS CHINA DIFFERENT?

by Walter L. Briggs

KUNMING, YUNNAN, CHINA

THE MILITARY SITUATION of the Chinese government is deteriorating rapidly—spectacularly. Nationalist armies are taking it on the chin in Manchuria, Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Jehol. Nationalist spokesmen claim victories in Shensi, but analysis of consecutive government communiqués shows that the Communists are mopping up even there.

Small Communist units, the government admits, have crossed the Yangtze into Kiangsu and Hunan. Other Red forces are reported massing for a thrust southwest into Szechwan, home of China's wartime capital Chungking and one of her richest provinces, with 50 million inhabitants.

The country is in the grip of a terrible inflation. The government spends four-fifths of its budget on its army. This money is printed as fast as the presses can roll. Communist troops have severed lines of communication over which exportable goods might have been brought to the coast to supply food and other necessities. Industry is far below prewar production primarily because capitalists find they can reap profits faster through moneylending and the purchase and resale of commodities that are being imported or are already available on China's markets.

In the wake of economic disintegration have come widespread discontent, banditry and gestures by the peripheral provinces toward breaking away from Nanking.

For instance, in this province of Yunnan, site of the airfields to which American planes brought China's war supplies from over the "Hump," the provincial government faces widespread revolt among the peasants.

"The situation can become very serious," Governor Lu Han told me. Youthful agitators, said to be Communists, and army deserters have organized bands called the Democratic Union Army. Enrolling the unemployed and underprivileged, they have seized a dozen towns south, southeast and northwest of the capital.

Government reports state that these forces, armed with wartime weapons, hoes, clubs and rocks, have numbered as many as 10,000. To combat them Lu is raising four additional regiments of 2,000 men each—which means further hated conscription and discontent.

As for the central government's liberalizing itself for self-preservation, General Li Tsung-jen's election as vice-president will contribute little. Though he was elected over the wishes of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the right-wingers, he is himself a faithful Kuomintang member.

So the Kuomintang remains in power. Look at the names: Chiang himself as President; Sun Fo and Chen Li-fu (one of the two Chen brothers controlling the reigning coterie) as president and vice-president, respectively, of the Legislative Yuan; and many of the members of the Executive Yuan (or cabinet) retained.

The two minority parties, Democratic Socialist and Young China, have broken away from the government, charging that elections were rigged and that their candidates were denied Legislative Yuan seats promised them. But these parties are finding that there are only two alternatives for them: they must become appendages either of the Kuomintang or the Communist Party.

General Li has made several vaguely liberal statements, but the trustworthiness of his liberalism is conjectural. He is best known as one of China's foremost soldiers—victor at Taierhchuang, the only major Chinese triumph over Japan until the American-trained troops fought along the Salween River in Burma.

Chiang's setback on the Li issue indicates that he has lost ground even among Kuomintang members, many of whom joined in Li's support. But his loss of backing is too slight to unseat him. Nevertheless, moderates are becoming increasingly convinced that China's government cannot be liberalized as long as Chiang remains a virtual dictator. If he remains as President, his attitude must change fundamentally.

To forecast accurately about China is difficult. Nevertheless, this reporter will try.

Bolstered by the $463 million US grant, Chiang and the Kuomintang probably can hang on for some months. But eventually a major break must come.

In Nanking the belief is spreading that the city cannot hold for long. Should its fall become imminent, the government may move to Canton, which apparently is being prepared as a final bastion by financier T. V. Soong, governor of Kwangtung Province.

Meanwhile, left-wingers and moderates may seek to form a coalition government with the Communists. The Communists, of course, will have become so strong that they can name the terms. A coalition once established, the Communists will guide amenable independents along the party line and throw out recalcitrants. Some Chinese liberals, especially the outlawed Democratic League, believe the Communists will work democratically with non-party members. When it is pointed out that in other countries the Communists seek to destroy their opposition and rule alone—that there is no middle ground—these liberals declare: "China is different." Despite Russia's control of other Communist countries, these liberals say they do not fear Russian domination—"China is different." Affirming that Mao Tze-tung, the Chinese Communist leader, is no Stalinist taking his cues from Moscow, they say: "China is different."

But this reporter doubts that China is different.

Now free-lancing, Walter L. Briggs is a former United Press war correspondent in China and India.

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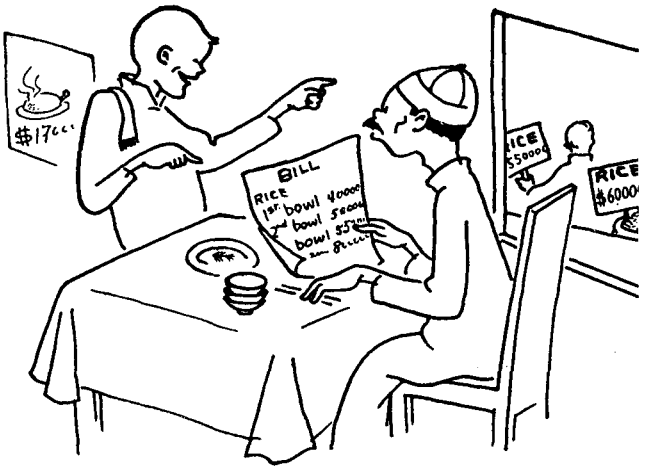
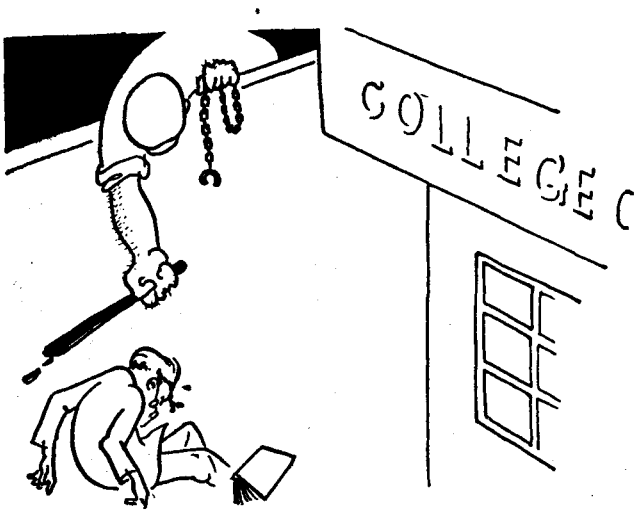
DRAWINGS FROM CHINA

By Fong Sing

The artist, who sent these drawings from China, called them "a pictorial report of actual conditions." He is "willing to guarantee that there are no exaggerations in these pictures."



THE PRICE CHANGES EVERY MINUTE



THE MOMENT BEFORE "DISAPPEARANCE"

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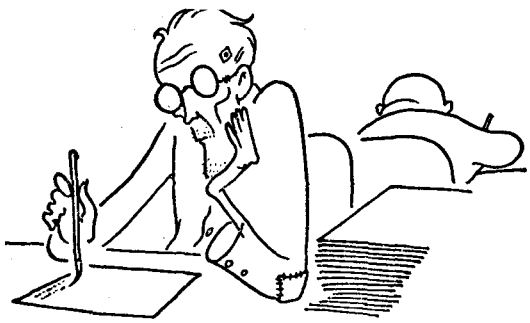
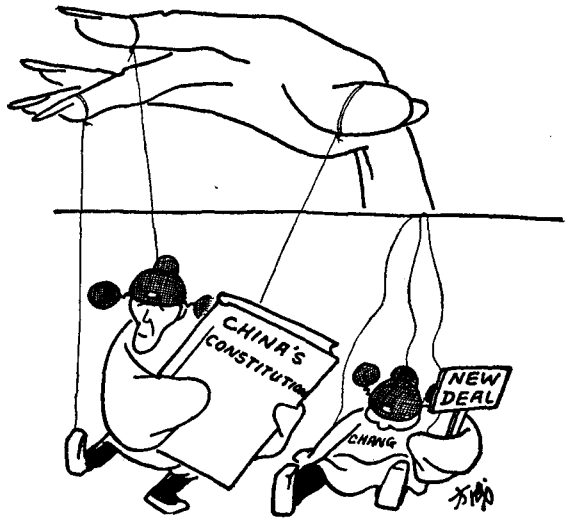
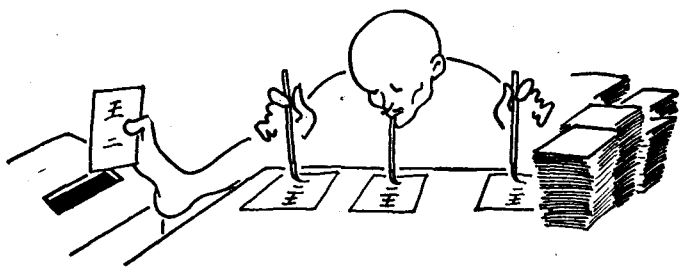


TYPICAL WHITE-COLLAR WORKER

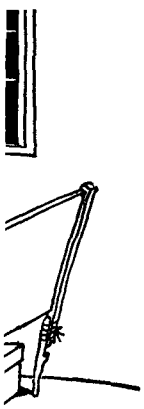


REORGANIZED AGAIN

GOT TWO COMMUNISTS



CHINESE TYPE OF VOTING



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WILL LABOR BE A FORCE IN '48?

"THE POLITICAL ENEMIES of the plain people of the nation have asked for it and now they are going to get it."

That was the AFL speaking in December, 1947. Nineteen forty-eight was to be "the year of labor action."

Labor action, or Republican sweep? June is too early for final judgments. Labor's action in the past has been concentrated between the conventions and election day. Yet labor's revolt against the Taft-Hartley Congress was to set a new pattern for real political action in 1948.

What has happened?

Four steps, taken in order, lead to real political action by labor:

Registering all union members to vote.

Persuading all registered workers to vote for progressives.

Participating in primaries to nominate progressives.

Building a truly progressive party.

The first of these steps requires active union leadership; the second, a real educational program. Where labor is active this year, 80 percent of its activity is in registration—the first step.

Only in a few communities has labor as a whole moved beyond the second step. One reason is that the third and fourth steps require united labor action. But the trade unions cannot unite on political action because they are still warring on trade-union action. In the face of mounting dangers common to all, the AFL is fighting the CIO, CIO unions are raiding one another, factionalism in unions is increasing.

The AFL, which is gaining at present, is least active politically. Its League for Political Education, established last December, is behind schedule in its main function—to raise money to be spent in backing candidates and in radio programs when the campaign begins. Meanwhile, the AFL is divided. The ILGWU is too liberal to give enthusiastic support to Harry Truman; the carpenters are too conservative, the building trades—strong in small towns which are often Republican—are committed to a non-partisan position.

The CIO is more deeply divided. Most of its fifteen left-wing unions are avoiding open endorsement of the New Party but devoting all their efforts to the National Labor Committee for Wallace and Taylor. As usual, their vigor is great, their candidates are aggressive and their platforms are militant. Key staff members of the CIO-PAC have resigned to work for Wallace. The CIO-PAC has been forced to spend most of its energy in state and local councils which have refused to accept the decisions of the national leadership. In search of a positive alternative to the New Party, CIO officials have quietly supported the Draft Eisenhower movement. Recently they have been asking sadly: What's wrong with Truman? The answer of course is that the rank and file doesn't like Truman, and without real sentiment for a candidate among the rank and file, union leaders can *mobilize* but they cannot *deliver* the labor vote.

In both the AFL and the CIO the trend toward participation in the Democratic Party is strong. This is true also of the Railway Brotherhoods, whose Political League has endorsed only three Republican Representatives seeking reëlection. But the wisest and best of the liberal unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, foresee no coördinated effort of labor to reconstruct the Democratic Party. And younger leaders, who see the labor movement in broader terms, have not yet made secure their positions within their own unions and so freed themselves for outside tasks.

So for many unions the battle of 1948 is for future position and not for present gain. It may lead, not to a skeleton army, but to a number of local forts, won by labor but held by the New Party, Democrats, independents and, in a few cases, by Republicans. The task of finding a way to coöperation will remain.

This year 15 million union members and their families could open the way to repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—if they were united. The following reports, from *NR* correspondents throughout the US, indicate that happy day still lies ahead.

OHIO

CLEVELAND (NR correspondent)

LABOR'S POLITICAL EFFORT in Ohio is paradoxical this year.

Never have its various segments been more effectively and aggressively organized for a major political campaign, but the effort is aimed in such conflicting directions that the separate parts counteract one another.

One well-financed segment of conservative AFL organizations will undoubtedly back Republican Governor Tom Herbert, and probably a Republican for President, too, if the GOP bypasses Taft.

This group, including such powerful units as the building trades, is traditionally Republican, and deserted the GOP only in the Roosevelt era. They've simply gone back home now.

Another well-organized labor segment—the largest—is playing along with the national Democratic organization. Leaders of this group are active in Americans for Democratic Action. They cheered when Chester Bowles, in a Cleveland speech, described Truman as the Democratic Party's "worst choice." This segment has already lost one important political round in 1948. Its candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, Ray T. Miller, was beaten, more than two-to-one, by ex-Governor Frank J. Lausche, a man labor was out to get.

The third segment is, of course, the Wallace group, which draws support principally from left-of-center CIO organizations. Wallace's candidacy has driven a wedge into the CIO's PAC here. Louis Hahn, veteran and experienced Cleveland PAC director, "re-

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signed" to work for him. All Wallace supporters were dropped from the PAC executive board.

For years labor, particularly the CIO-PAC, attempted with little success to adapt the principles of union organization to political organization. Those principles are characterized by the mass meeting, the handbill, the demonstration—all directed by relatively few people. For union organization, where employees were concentrated within the confines of an industrial plant, such methods were immensely effective. But they did not work well in political organization, where the arena is an entire city, or county, or state. Labor's leaders have come to realize this fact, and have recognized that the basis of political success is an organization geared to reach down into every neighborhood, to recruit voters individually, not en masse.

They have learned that a woman worker's time is probably better spent if she sits with the neighbor's baby while the mother goes downtown to register than if she spends her day mimeographing a handbill.

They have learned that one man, talking individually to every voter within his own block, is a better vote-getter than a speaker at a political rally that would probably be poorly attended anyway.

Now Ohio labor is employing its new block-by-block political strategy. Individual local unions are submitting membership lists to the Board of Elections in various counties to determine who is not registered. Delinquents are then asked to sign up.

The process is disclosing that from 54 to 83 percent of the members are registered. Union leaders feel that with names of delinquents on record, local unions will be able to get more than 90 percent of their members qualified before the lists close. Even if they fall below this mark, the volume of labor registration should be at an all-time high this fall. That is one encouraging sign. But still labor is not using this mass strength behind a unified slate of candidates to protect its own interests.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO (NR correspondent)

THE POLITICAL-ACTION groups of both the CIO and the AFL look as though they are due for a severe jolt in the November elections. Whatever coöperation exists between them now—chiefly in opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act—is superficial. The divisions between them are real.

The best example of how labor in Illinois is scattering its fire was the announcement by Reuben G. Soderstrom, president of the State Federation of Labor, that his organization probably would endorse Republican Governor Dwight H. Green for reëlection and Democrat Paul H. Douglas for the Senate seat of C. Wayland Brooks. In Chicago and downstate, labor is similarly split. The right-wing CIO unions, mainly the Steelworkers, Auto Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers, are more or less committed to the Democratic Party. They represent about two-thirds of CIO strength in the state. Though their leaders have taken this stand, rank and filers seem apathetic.

The left-wing unions, however, are putting on a hard-hitting campaign for the Illinois Progressive Party ticket and Henry Wallace. They include chiefly the United Electrical Workers, United Farm Equipment Workers and many of the Packinghouse Workers.

Some top AFL leaders admit that their unions are paying little attention to the AFL's League for Political Education. They are mostly going their own way. The Carpenters' Union is collecting $2 from each member—$1 for the international union and $1 for the local district council—to finance political action. David Dubinsky's ILGWU likewise is carrying on an independent program. Standing on the side lines are the Teamsters and the Building Service Employees' International.

DRAWING BY ROGER LYFORD

All in all, political prophets see no real stamina in either AFL or CIO political activities at present. Both will have to go hell-bent between now and election time to make their strength felt in the balloting. What it looks like so far is a big bust on labor's part.

CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

CALIFORNIA is one state where labor, despite its drift and dissension, is going to make its force felt in November. The AFL has one million California members, the CIO at least 175,000. Union registration runs from 70 to 90 percent and will be greater by the time the books close.

Such big membership and high percentage of registration give California labor leaders a real weapon in fighting labor's cause if they can agree on candidates.

Some states have unity at the top but not at the bottom; California offers one example of how effective low-level unity can be. Across the bay from San Francisco in Oakland and Alameda Counties, the CIO and the AFL joined to elect a pro-labor city council last year. Now a joint CIO-AFL committee is organizing November activities and has endorsed liberal Democrat Buell Gallagher in its congressional district. Campaigning among union members is on a tight, well-planned, plant-to-plant basis, with emphasis right now on voters' registration.

So far, such unity has not spread to other sections, partly because of the many unresolved issues surrounding the New Party. A majority of union members in San Francisco stuck with

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Harry Bridges and the CIO Industrial Union Council in supporting Wallace. They have their own active PAC. The other CIO faction, headed by Tim Flynn, who replaced Bridges, has a PAC too, but the Bridges group is stronger through having developed a county and precinct organization that went over the top this spring in collecting signatures for Wallace.

With the Maritime Workers in a critical situation and various farm workers' strikes going on, there is more unrest in California than elsewhere. And since political action usually coincides with such unrest, West Coast union people are likely to be more effective in November than their Eastern brethren.

TENNESSEE

MEMPHIS (NR correspondent)

IN THE BAILIWICK of Boss Crump, labor leaders are saying, "We don't care how our people vote, just so they vote." Things are not that simple, however.

The local chapter of Americans for Democratic Action has done some yeoman service which might make it possible for the CIO, the AFL and even the Republicans to join forces against Crump's machine. ADA workers spent weeks at the courthouse copying voters' names off the city and county books, then sold the lists to the CIO, the AFL and the GOP. Now these organizations are busy seeing to it that every member and his family qualify to vote. They know that one of the main troubles in Memphis always has been that nobody bothers to vote except the 40,000 beholden to Crump. If the CIO can get its 30,000 members and their families qualified, the situation would be greatly changed.

Apparently none of the factions is going to make its position clear, at least until later in the campaign. The CIO-PAC chairman, for instance, has been willing only to say, "The CIO is against machine rule but we just never have named any machine." Within the AFL, which often has played ball with Crump, there are signs of a new revolt.

Best hope for unity seems to be the Senate campaign which Representative Estes Kefauver is making against Crump's candidate, Judge John A. Mitchell. If labor can get together on this issue, then the registration drive will have some point.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON (NR correspondent)

IT TOOK ADVERSITY, and plenty of it, to write the first chapter in local labor unity. The Massachusetts CIO and the State Federation of Labor have signed a pact to campaign against three labor-crippling measures up for referendum this fall, measures sponsored by a group of rich ex-Liberty Leaguers now known as the Massachusetts Citizens' Union.

So far such coöperation exists only on paper and is exclusively top-level, but New England liberals view it as a beginning.

In other matters, Massachusetts labor mirrors the national schisms in the labor movement, but locally it has been able to add splits within splits. The state CIO, for example, has conducted almost constant warfare against the Greater Boston Industrial Union Council over purely personal issues, since both groups are right-wing.

The big question mark here, as elsewhere, is whether the New Party is going to enter its own candidates. In May, New Partyites obtained the 50,000 signatures necessary to get Henry Wallace's name on the ballot. Newspaper polls have forecast 11 percent of the state's vote for Wallace. New Party leaders are marking time to see what kind of congressional candidates the harried Democrats put up.

A strong wing of the Democratic Party is led by Boston's Mayor James M. Curley, jaunty as ever. Although his sentence for mail fraud was commuted by Truman, Curley is backing MacArthur. If a Curley man is nominated, it looks like curtains for the Democrats and as though labor would find no place to plump its votes.

DOUGLAS:

The contest between Paul Douglas, Democrat, and Curtis D. MacDougall, running in Illinois on the Progressive (Wallace) ticket, for the US Senate seat now held by C. Wayland Brooks, has aroused bitter controversy. Douglas' liberalism has been challenged by the Progressive Party. In a statement written for the New Republic and presented herewith, Douglas outlines his beliefs and intentions:

I BELIEVE that our government should be both *for* the people and *by* the people, that it should increase the opportunities for all and that it should at once work for the common welfare and protect individuals in their human rights. Our foreign policy should work coöperatively to bind up the wounds of war, to establish a firm peace, and to check aggression wherever possible by collective action.

To carry out these aims I am advocating, and when elected I shall support, the following domestic measures:

¶ The checking of further inflation by preventing undue expansion of bank credit, which raises prices.

¶ The enactment of a vigorous housing program to construct at least 15 million homes in the next decade by reducing building costs, and by lowering the interest rate through a larger federal guarantee for private home construction. Included in this program should also be federal aid for slum clearance in our larger cities.

¶ The provision of greater equality of opportunity by federal aid for education and hospital care.

¶ The protection of racial and religious minorities from being discriminated against in employment, in the courts and at the polls.

¶ The protection of the legitimate rights of private citizens from being unjustly "smeared" by legislative committees, such as those headed by Rep-

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HIS POLICY

resentative J. Parnell Thomas. Thus, when a man has been defamed by testimony before, or statements made by, a committee, he should have the right to be heard in his own defense.

¶ The extension of social security: as one who has helped to draft some of the basic legislation in this field, I naturally favor extending the coverage of our social-security laws and paying more adequate pensions and benefits because of the greatly increased cost of living.

¶ The restoration of collective bargaining. The recent Taft-Hartley Act gives to anti-union employers the power to break almost every union in the country and should never have been passed. Since it now embodies the original Wagner Act, its repeal should be accompanied by the simultaneous passage of another act reëstablishing the original Wagner Act together with certain improvements agreed upon by unions and employers.

¶ The development of our forests and rivers to prevent floods, to provide a timber reserve and recreational areas, to furnish irrigation facilities and, where practicable, to generate power.

¶ An all-out effort to get a greater degree of competition in American business in order to expand output, lower prices and distribute economic power more broadly.

Our farm program should, in my opinion, rest on three pillars: (a) an extensive program of soil conservation which would include effective measures for better and cheaper fertilizer to break the present stranglehold imposed by the fertilizer trust; (b) an increased demand for farm products obtained by extending the school-lunch program so that every child in America will have the chance for a hot noon meal at a reasonable price; (c) the provision of a guaranteed total or proportional net income for farmers as a whole equal to that which they enjoyed from 1941 to 1945. This would not require rigid acreage limitation or the maintenance of fixed prices.

In the field of foreign affairs:

I am in favor of the fullest use of the United Nations, the international control of atomic energy, the reduction of trade barriers, and the development of full economic coöperation among nations.

I believe in the Marshall Plan and shall continue to support it, since I regard it as essential to the rebuilding of Europe.

I am opposed to all acts of aggression and believe that they should be checked in their early stages before they gather too much strength and threaten our own safety. I condemned the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese military during the thirties and forties, and did all I could to resist it. There is a similar moral obligation to resist Communist aggression, which has manifested itself in Iran, Eastern Europe, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

I believe in an adequate national defense to back up the United Nations and to check aggression.

As we help to free men from the fear of aggression, we should also work constructively to help free them from want and injustice. The Marshall Plan is a great step in this direction. If Russia would cease her aggressive acts and give convincing proof of peaceful intentions, she could be admitted to a Near East oil consortium, where there is enough oil for everyone. Under this arrangement the royalty payments could go to the poverty-stricken peoples of those countries.

A mighty struggle is going on for the souls of men and the possession of states. It is a struggle between those who believe in a free and humane society and those who believe in a police state. We have beaten off one powerful attempt to establish the fascist police state upon the world. A glacial age would descend upon the earth were the police state of communism to be triumphant. For it also imposes a dictatorship over the press, radio, schools and churches.

Communism, like fascism, takes the people on a one-way ride. For once it gets power, it destroys the democratic alternatives to it and does not accord to others the rights it claimed as a minority. It thus sets up a system which cannot be reversed by democratic methods.

Wherever the Communists have taken over the government they have been ruthless in suppressing all opposition. Everywhere they have set up police states where men are arrested without a warrant, denied the right to be visited by friends or released on bail, refused counsel, forbidden to summon witnesses in their behalf or freely cross-question those who testify against them, and sentenced to concentration camps, where they are worked to death. Such a state brings slavery, not freedom, to people and nations. It would be a tragedy were it to extend its area of control. The reality of this police state is so oppressive that many try to soothe their consciences by pretending that it does not exist. But this does not do away with the terrible reality.

Just as the German Communists wanted Hitler to take power and crush the Center so that they could rule, so do the American Communists want to destroy the progressive Center and elect reactionaries because they believe the people would then turn to them.

I believe this would be disastrous. I shall therefore keep on struggling as I always have for a progressive policy both at home and abroad as the best means of checking both the extreme Left and extreme Right and for bringing into being a better social order within our own country and in others as well. I believe that American liberals and progressives have too much sense to let themselves be used for the Communists' unworthy ends, and that they will not divide in this year of decision.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE YOUNG CONQUERORS

by Malcolm Cowley

I WAS ASKED a simple question: What are the new writers saying about the war? In order to answer it, I have been reading a group of first novels by young American veterans.

There are nine books in the group and I cannot certify them as the nine best; they are simply the war novels of the last three years that have received wide attention or have been recommended by friends whose judgment I trust. What I can say for them as a group is that they are honest stories, written because their authors had something to say, and that they form a surprisingly complete record of soldier and sailor life from Guadalcanal to the garrison years in Germany and thence to the homecoming.

Tales of the South Pacific, by James A. Michener (Macmillan; $3), comes first chronologically; it begins with the Battle of the Coral Sea, as reported by radio, and follows the fortunes of a dozen naval officers through months of preparation to the day of their first big strike. *The Gallery*, by John Horne Burns (Harper; $3), deals with war in the Mediterranean; most of its action takes place in what had become the rear areas, from Casablanca to Naples. *The Naked and the Dead*, by Norman Mailer (Rinehart; $4), is the complete story of a minor campaign in the South Pacific, apparently in the spring of 1944. With *All Thy Conquests*, by Alfred Hayes (Howell, Soskin; $2.75), we are back in Italy; the scene is Rome and the time is September, 1944, three months after the Allies marched into the city. *Mister Roberts*, by Thomas Heggen (Houghton Mifflin; $2.50), is the last of the strictly wartime novels. Its action takes place in the spring of 1945 and its subject is life on the Navy supply ship *Reluctant* "on its regular run, from Tedium to Apathy and back; about five days each way."

The other four books are concerned with the occupation of Germany and Japan and the return to civilian life. *The Steeper Cliff*, by David Davidson (Random House; $3), is a romantic novel about Munich in the autumn of 1945, when a great many Americans were acting on General Patton's theory that it wasn't fraternizing if you didn't stay for breakfast. *The Stainless Steel Kimono*, by Elliott Chaze (Simon and Schuster; $2.75), describes the adventures in Japan of seven tough paratroopers; the time is the winter of 1945-46. By then the hero of *That Winter* (Sloane; $3) was back in New York, and Merle Miller tells us how much he drank, how many girls he did or didn't go to bed with and why he resigned from the staff of a famous news weekly. *The Sealed Verdict*, by Lionel Shapiro (Doubleday; $2.75), centers upon a trial of German generals for war crimes in the spring of 1946; it is the last of the novels chronologically.

Together they cover the years and pretty well cover the parts of the globe where Americans were fighting; these authors went almost everywhere that Kilroy went. Two of the novels are about officers in the Navy, five are about soldiers and two are about uniformed officials in Military Government. Serious gaps must be noted in the record: there is nothing about the Army Air Force, nothing about the Wacs, nothing about the China-Burma-India theatre and nothing about the fighting in France, except for a series of flashbacks in *That Winter*. I might and perhaps should have read novels directly treating all those subjects, but I have a notion that they would not have changed the general picture.

For there *is* a general picture which, emerging from all these books, becomes their most impressive feature. Different as the nine authors are in character and in types of experience, they end by repeating almost the same messages: that Americans aren't soldiers by choice; they are guilt-ridden in the role of conquerors; their sex lives are confused and unsatisfactory; they hate the Army caste system; and some of them fear it will serve as the preparation for an American fascism.

To judge by their reported conversations, Americans in the Second World War were tougher and more sophisticated than their fathers in 1918. They were less ashamed of their vices, less religious (except for the devout Catholics) and less affected by patriotic propaganda. Often they proved refractory to discipline, and in the South Pacific—so Mailer reports—they killed most of their prisoners. Although they were good fighting troops and highly skilled, if reckless and wasteful, in handling their superb mechanical equipment, they proved irresponsible and even corrupt as garrison forces in

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the vanquished territories they were called upon to occupy.

THE CONQUERED. It is this last characteristic of Americans as soldiers that made the deepest impression on five of the novelists. Hayes and Burns writing about Italy, Davidson and Shapiro about Germany and Chaze about Japan all make it clear that the occupation forces are leaving bitter memories behind them. Chaze tries to explain why the soldiers acted as they did. "The reaction of most occupation troops in Japan," he says, "is that of a person suddenly handed a brimming bedpan and told to guard its contents carefully. It comes as a shock to the average American to find himself custodian of such a smelly and strange country." In *All Thy Conquests* Hayes quotes the Italians on their conquerors. "We are liberated," they say. "We have been liberated from cigarettes, shoes, meat, gasoline and our women."

Lionel Shapiro's book, *The Sealed Verdict*, is largely a picture of demoralization in the American zone of Germany. Although the style is close to that of slick-paper magazines, some of the descriptions are hard to forget:

A Red Cross club for enlisted men occupied the most important building still standing in the street, the former Palast Kino. Just beyond the lights that brightened the entrance to the club, each dark doorway of the boarded, fire-gutted shops was populated by one or two girls. They were mostly children of thirteen or fourteen, and the rouge that was lumpily applied to their cheeks made them look like Hallowe'en pranksters rather than apprentices on the dreary night watch of the camp follower. . . . A little man with sunken cheeks appeared at Lashley's elbow and walked with them briefly, whispering, "What got to sell? *Zigaretten? Amerikanische* dollars?" He fell away in the darkness and a boy, perhaps ten, took his place. "Want girl? Pretty girl. Young. No sick." He too slunk away. As they crossed in front of the Red Cross Club, two MP's saluted briskly.

The briskly saluted conquerors were themselves affected by the demoralization around them; in fact they helped to make it worse by profiteering at the expense of the conquered. "I don't know why," says Burns in *The Gallery*, "but most Americans had a blanket hatred of all Italians. They figured it this way: these Ginsoes have made war on us, so it doesn't matter what we do to them, boost their prices, shatter their economy and shack up with their women. . . . I saw that we could mouth democratic catchwords and yet give the Neapolitans a huge black market. I saw that we could prate of the evils of fascism, yet be just as ruthless as Fascists with people who'd already been pushed around."

DRAWINGS BY KURT WERTH

KINSEY REPORT. These novels have a great deal to say about sexual behavior, and in many respects they tend to support Dr. Kinsey's conclusions. On two points, however, they present so much opposing evidence that they make you wonder whether Kinsey is infallible. He says at some length, if you remember, that no significant changes in the sexual pattern occurred during the period of 22 years covered by his researches. "There is not even evidence," he adds, "that patterns of sexual behavior are materially altered among men in the armed forces during a period of war." The novelists do not argue with these two statements, but they describe American soldiers as acting with vastly more freedom in sexual matters than any novelist, even Hemingway, described them as acting in the First World War. Moreover, they show by many examples that Americans learned new patterns of behavior in Europe or Asia or the South Seas.

There is more sex than love in the nine novels, and some of the authors hint that romantic love is difficult for self-centered and self-conscious Americans to achieve. "In America," Burns says—he is the one most given to making direct statements—"I remember a tension between the sexes. Human love is a disease for the isolation ward, not at all nice. Thus love in America is often divided into the classifications of Having Sex and Getting Married. Neither has much to do with love." He depicts several of his characters as learning naturalness and self-forgetfulness from the Neapolitan women. There are few American women in the novels and fewer still whom the authors admire; the others are shown to be cold, selfish and even malignant.

OFFICERS AND GI'S. Four of the novels are written from the standpoint of the officers, four others chiefly from that of the enlisted men, while *The Naked and the Dead* tries to include both standpoints by presenting all the ranks involved in a minor campaign, from the commanding general down to the newest replacement. Almost all the authors agree, however—the possible exception is Heggen in *Mister Roberts*—that a gulf exists between the two military castes.

Often the men complain of the special privileges granted to officers in respect to food, liquor and liberty. Some of the more sensitive officers, but only a few, are depicted as being ashamed to enjoy those privileges; while the effect on others is to make them feel that they are living in an unreal world. "What am I doing with bars on me?" a captain says to his American mistress in *All Thy Conquests*. "I look in the mirror and I don't believe it. We're an army of phonies, baby, that's what we are. An army of jerks playing soldier."

The novels reveal a special conflict

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over the superior sexual opportunities enjoyed by officers. Apparently it was worst in the South Pacific; there the only white women in the advanced areas were nurses, who ranked as lieutenants and were not allowed to associate with enlisted men. Michener, writing from the officer's point of view, gives a pretty lurid picture of the situation. "There were," he says, "many other attacks or near attacks on nurses in the islands. They were grim, hushed-up affairs. . . . But in time every nurse knew that she lived in danger. She could see in the baleful looks of enlisted men that they considered her little more than a plaything brought out to amuse the officers."

Michener writes almost like a Southern planter in the Black Belt, living in fear that his womenfolk will be outraged by a sullen peasantry. Once when he paid a visit to the enlisted men in their quarters, he was surprised to find that most of them were friendly. There was one man, however, who looked at him "with the grim stare which officers see so often and which always means: 'What the hell are you doing here?'" Norman Mailer describes the rivalry between Lieutenant Hearn and his platoon sergeant, who deliberately leads him into a Japanese ambush. After Hearn's death one of the men blurts out, "The Lootenant was a good guy." Another swears, "They ain't a —— one of those officers is worth a goddam. . . . They're all bastards."

PREVIEW OF FASCISM. A feeling present as an overtone in several of the novels is the fear that the military hierarchy will become the model and furnish the leaders for an American fascism. In *The Naked and the Dead* this feeling is discussed in a series of conversations between Hearn, the liberal-minded lieutenant, and the odious General Cummings.

"The machine techniques of this century demand consolidation," Cummings says, "and with that you've got to have fear, because the majority of men must be subservient to the machine, and it's not a business they instinctively enjoy." Later he says, dotting the i's, "There are countries which have latent powers, latent resources, they are full of potential energy, so to speak. And there are great concepts which can unlock that, express it. As kinetic energy a country is organization, coördinated effort, your epithet, fascism. . . . Historically the purpose of this war is to translate America's potential into kinetic energy. . . . You can consider the Army," he concludes, "as a preview of the future."

DISILLUSIONMENT. During the late war everyone interested in literature was predicting a postwar disillusionment. We are in the midst of it now; it is sharply expressed by all these writers, except Michener; but it has taken another form than most readers expected to find. In general the novelists do not suggest that the war was foolish in its aims or that, given the temper of the people, it might have been avoided by wiser statesmanship. They are not disillusioned with the war itself—in this they differ from many novelists of the 1920's—so much as they are with the victory. And they are more than disillusioned; some of them are heartbroken at the contrast between our aims and efforts on one hand and our achievements on the other; between soldiers dying in the jungle and soldiers drunk in a Japanese house of prostitution; between the delirious joy with which our men were greeted as they marched into a liberated city and the despair of the inhabitants when they learned that we could be—to quote again from John Horne Burns —"just as ruthless as Fascists with people who'd been pushed around already. That was why my heart broke in Naples in August, 1944."

But the new disillusionment is something more than heartbreak at the fruits of victory; it is a sort of epilogue to the history of the last twenty years. The novelists are not too young to remember the hopefulness of the 1930's, when most intellectuals were involved in some scheme for remaking their country and the world. National or international, all the schemes have crashed and must be rebuilt from the ground. Not many of the novelists are now disposed to help in the rebuilding, for most of them—I except Merle Miller—are disillusioned not only with Moscow and Washington but also, it would seem, with the whole notion of progress through collective effort. Perhaps that is an extreme statement of their position; but I note that in almost all the novels the picture of men in the mass is disagreeable. "There are no good nations or armies," the authors seem to be saying. "Our only hope is in individuals."

In spite of their plea for individualism, I found the novels more impressive as a collection than as separate works. *The Naked and the Dead* is the most ambitious and the only one that compares in scope with the great war novels of the past; but its style is graceless and James T. Farrellesque. *The Gallery* is better in the end, being warmer in feeling and more persuasive. A characteristic of almost all the books is the number of good persons they depict in the midst of what seems to be a hopeless world. Lieutenant Moe Shulman in *The Gallery*; Carla in *All Thy Conquests*; Goldstein, the Brooklyn mechanic, and his friend Ridges, the Southern sharecropper, in *The Naked and the Dead*; Mr. Roberts himself; Thémis Delisle in *The Sealed Verdict*—there are dozens of gentle, brave and almost saintlike persons in the novels, and they seem to be presented largely for the sake of emphasizing the value of individuals. The novelists are a little like the two angels who looked for virtue in Sodom so that the city might be saved; and, luckier than the angels, they have each come forward with a group of righteous men.

LINK WITH THE EAST

THE INDONESIAN STORY, by Charles Wolf Jr. (John Day Company; $3).

THE LEAST-KNOWN active nationalist movement in the world today, save possibly that of Viet-Nam, is the Indonesian. Yet, both because it is a vital part of the general awakening of

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the East and because it involves the entire future of one of the largest and richest colonial empires, the struggle of the people of the Netherlands East Indies for political freedom is a matter of importance to Americans. To remedy a defect in our knowledge, Charles Wolf Jr., who was US vice-consul in Batavia during the early days of the embattled Indonesian republic, has written a dispassionate and informative work called *The Indonesian Story*, issued under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

The Indonesian independence movement has been suspect, among strangers to it, because of the belief that it was Japanese-inspired and dominated by collaborators. Wolf shows that even the Dutch, who first held this belief, soon came to admit that the movement presented a genuine revolt against the return to prewar colonial status and that it was headed by patriots. At least two of its leaders, Sjahrir and Sjarifoeddin, were bitter wartime foes of the Japanese, despite good reason for hating the Dutch.

It is true that in the early days of the Japanese occupation, the nationalist movement was encouraged by the invaders for propaganda purposes, and that the nationalist leaders took this opportunity to strengthen their forces against the eventual return of their Dutch rulers. But the evidence is that they were never puppets. When the Japanese departed, there were too few Dutch troops in the area to reoccupy the Indies, and the task fell to the British, since the Dutch empire was part of their Southeast Asia Command. The British, however, succeeded chiefly in antagonizing both Dutch and Indonesians, and for a time there was a reign of terror in the islands.

Eventually, thanks to the intelligent negotiating of Sjahrir, representing the Indonesian republic, and H. J. van Mook, for the Netherlands government, the Linggadjati Agreement was signed in November, 1946. It was a compromise by which the republic was recognized as the authority in Java and Sumatra, and "a sovereign democratic federal state," the United States of Indonesia, was to be formed, consisting of the republic of Indonesia, the state of Borneo and the so-called Great Eastern State. In addition, there was to be coöperation in forming the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, to consist of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia, headed by Queen of the Netherlands.

Wolf believes that both sides must bear part of the blame for the breakdown of the agreement, but he makes it clear that conservative hostility in Holland caused the Dutch in the Indies to return to much of their old-time colonial arrogance in treating with the new republic. The result was a renewal of warfare between the Dutch and the Indonesians, the military victory of the Dutch, and the bringing of the issue before the UN, which was a diplomatic victory for the Indonesians.

At the moment, the Dutch are in military control of most of the Indies, but Wolf is convinced that eventually a settlement must be reached along the lines of the Linggadjati Agreement. Out of both economic self-interest and a realization that the entire East is fast waking up, the Dutch, whose imperialism has long been more enlightened than that of most colonial powers, will see that the only solution is the establishment of the United States of Indonesia. This new sovereignty, in turn, might well become a valuable link between East and West. The evidence is that the new state will be economically and politically progressive and moderately socialist, and that, by the presence of such liberals in the government as Sjahrir, it will be intelligently and democratically led.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

THE GENTLE WARRIOR

ALL OUR YEARS, by Robert Morss Lovett (The Viking Press; $3.75).

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY of Robert Morss Lovett hardly needs the appraisal of professional reviewers; Lovett's life and work were completely and warmly evaluated in 1943 by the then Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes. The occasion for Ickes' tribute was the attempt of a majority of the House of Representatives to withhold Lovett's salary as Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands by means of a rider to the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act for that year. The self-styled curmudgeon reviewed his old friend's fight for civil liberties, peace, the rights of labor and "an orderly and constitutional improvement of our economic and governmental procedures."

Ickes was characteristically unable to refrain from some mild and probably wasted humor at Lovett's propensity for indiscriminate "joining." Throughout an honorable career of seventy-seven years, Lovett has never inquired about the political coloration of any individual or organization that worked for his ends. Both he and Ickes expose the fallacy promoted by the Right, the timid, liberal Middle, and various branches of the leftist churches, that you "can't work with Communists." The integrity of Lovett, the man, and the record of his life's achievement are the pragmatic answer. The philosophically minded will find that Lovett has sustained his *apologia* with such old-fashioned authorities as Ruskin, Morris and Mill.

Many of Lovett's friends, colleagues and students will resent the emphasis put here upon his role as a political publicist and fighter. Three generations of students at the University of Chicago, and hundreds of others at briefer intervals at Colorado, Puerto Rico and elsewhere remember him as a great teacher. His colleagues on the *Dial* and the *New Republic* will recall his role in an exciting period of American literary journalism. His friends, beginning with those of his Boston boyhood and Harvard youth—most of whom followed the channels of class and custom that he largely rejected—came spontaneously to his defense in all his battles. But men like Thomas Lamont or Judge Learned Hand could have had nothing more than a personal admiration for the man who had been president of the League for Industrial Democracy for twenty years, had been an uncompromising champion of Sacco and Vanzetti, and had searchingly

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questioned his government's role in two world wars.

Lovett's life, as he indicates by dividing his autobiography into two parts, broke in half in 1917 when he was forty-six years old. "I was enjoying my life in the pleasant walks of academe, very much at ease in Zion." He had always been aware of the currents of thought and political activity that had stirred his times; no intimate friend of Jane Addams, William Vaughn Moody and Robert Herrick could fail to be. The First World War challenged some of the fairly mild unorthodoxies of his youth, and his varying reaction to its development is a matter of history. Its importance to the man rests in the fact that on July 18, 1918, his only son, whose story forms a large portion of *All Our Years,* was killed at Belleau Wood. Though Lovett does not say so, those who know him well know that the second half of his career is guided by that death.

The roots were earlier. Lovett had never accepted the values of his stuffy Roxbury family, or of Harvard, or William James's "bitch goddess success," all of which he had shared. There was nothing in the American canon to have prevented him from going on to quiet, rewarding success as a university president, as a writer and lecturer, or by political advancement. All these were in his grasp, but he refused to seize them.

Aside from the fact that Lovett was one of the great men and fundamentally important political figures of his time, he has written a book that may become a minor classic. Its author's modesty and urbanity may prevent it from having the broad value of the Steffens and Adams autobiographies. But no historian of Harvard, of Chicago, of Hull House, of the whole history of the American Left in this century, can ignore the information and analysis in this book. It should be read, too, for its style and its rich fund of anecdote.

Lovett has been able to make even mountain climbing and horse-back riding palatable to one reader. And after many years of generosity to his enemies, he has let down the bars of his decorum to give his candid opinion of at least two individuals, a former president of Harvard and a former Governor General of the Virgin Islands.

At the end of seventy-seven years of active service, Lovett, while still regarding himself as a teacher, recalls George Herbert Palmer's advice—"to become a part of an institution."

My own work with institutions, so far as it is worth recalling, has been in the direction of social solidarity: peace through unity among nations; peace through unity among classes; peace especially within the movement for social progress. In the first category I shared in the international spirit which characterized Hull House; I tried to have faith in the promise of nations to renounce war, and encouraged young men and women to believe in it; and I supported the neutrality legislation as an example for an international pattern in the Emergency Peace Campaign, and concerted action against aggressors in the League Against War and Fascism.

Among the institutions of the second category, peace among classes, I place Hull House again, the *Dial,* the *New Republic,* and the League for Industrial Democracy in its persistent attempt to educate the influential middle class into an understanding of and sympathy with labor.

Among the third I count new political parties, beginning in my case with the Committee of Forty-eight and the Farmer-Labor Party, extending through subsequent conferences and committees which led to the Progressive Party campaign of 1924, the League for Independent Political Action, and the Progressive Citizens of America behind Henry Wallace.

That is his testimony—and it is hardly likely that the ghost of Palmer would approve. GEORGE MAYBERRY

THEATRE: A Critic

To SERVE as something beyond a privileged press agent with a fancy vocabulary, the theatre critic must be an artist, a historian and a philosopher. Henry James was all of these. It should be no surprise therefore that his admirably edited notes on the acting and drama of his time, collected under the title *The Scenic Art* (Rutgers University Press; $4.50), are a valuable, indeed a delightful, addition to the meager library of enduring theatre criticism in the English language.

Since the articles that constitute James's theatre criticism were written sporadically for divers journals from 1872 to 1901, they do not have the consistency—stylistically or chronologically—of the equivalent work of Bernard Shaw or Max Beerbohm. The best of the James's pieces are nevertheless just as fine as those of the two younger men who for a number of years were professionally committed to dramatic criticism.

From the pages of *The Scenic Art* we may learn about the creative poverty and the material prosperity of the London stage at the time that Meredith, Hardy, Gissing, Tennyson and Swinburne were enriching English literature. (To inquire why in certain periods and in certain countries the greatest writers devoted themselves to the theatre while at other times they shunned it, would be a worthy task for an ambitious student.) We learn too how the beginnings of English drawing-room realism owed much both to the influx into the theatre of well-to-do amateur actors and to the advance of stage mechanics—all of which, to James's discerning eye, spelled an impoverishment in both acting and dramaturgy.

Among the historical details worth special remark are James's comments on Sarah Bernhardt, whom he describes in 1879 as being a new kind of actress, typical of the age: the advertising genius—"the muse of the newspaper." Bernhardt's success, James points out, "has been in a very

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moderate degree an artistic success. It has been the success of a celebrity . . . and Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt is not . . . a celebrity because she is an artist. She is a celebrity . . . because she desires with an intensity that has rarely been equaled to be one. . . . She is too American not to succeed in America. The people who have brought to the highest development the arts and graces of publicity will recognize a kindred spirit."

The position of many of our present-day stage celebrities—Broadway geniuses!—is not due any more to their own passion for celebrity but to both our need for hero worship and our loss of the faculty with which to evaluate their work properly. Reviewers, and to a great extent their audience today, no longer see people on the stage in terms of art but in terms of quotes, display ads, box-office reports, interviews, syndicated photographs, contracts and deals.

I have suggested that to achieve anything more than a momentary interest, the theatre critic must himself qualify as an artist. The artist has his own vision, idiosyncrasy, manner of expression. It is real fun to observe the evolution of James's style through the articles in *The Scenic Art.* They begin with a kind of stiff and studious decorum; they progress to an expansive eloquence that seems to break through the writer's many reticences; they go on to the point where we behold a man carrying so precious a burden of gems that he appears fearful of stumbling and scattering them or of making any direct use of them at all.

In regard to style, the paper on the French actor, Coquelin, written in 1887 and rewritten in 1915, is worth close examination. The late manner reveals itself in an ecstasy of virtuosity combined with a prissy meticulousness and scrupulousness, a breathless concern to render the scientifically exact into the most esthetically graceful, an effort to wed exquisiteness of tone with impeccability of taste—leading to something which is at once fascinating and almost unbearable. But James was never meant to be read on the run. In his day the writer—even the critic—expected to be granted some *time.*

Perception and felicity of phrase provide pleasure on almost every page of *The Scenic Art.* In speaking of Rostand, James refers to "the bristling bravery of his verse, the general frolic of his vocabulary, especially under the happy crack of the whip of rhyme . . ."; of Dumas' "The Lady of the Camelias," James says, "It is all champagne and tears—fresh perversity, fresh credulity, fresh passion, fresh pain. . . . It carries with it an April air." Of American criticism and the newly discovered writer, James says: "It is solely the manifestation and never the talent that interests us, and nothing is stranger than the fact that no critic has ever explained on our behalf the system by which we hurl ourselves on a writer today and stare at him tomorrow as if we had never heard of him. . . . We have in England and the United States only the two alternatives of the roar of the market and the silence of the tomb. . . ."

HAROLD CLURMAN

RADIO: FM's Slow Start

BRUNO BECKHARD, a reader in St. Petersburg, Florida, pleads a cause. "I have been hoping," he writes, "that you would find an inch or so for that poor little orphan, FM." Others too have wondered about the status of frequency modulation—especially since television put on seven-league boots.

NBC's newly promoted administrative vice-president in charge of television, Sidney M. Strotz, has revised some guesses made earlier by his predecessor, Frank E. Mullen. While Mullen thought very recently that coast-to-coast video network operations would be possible by 1950, Strotz does not foresee such development until 1953 at the earliest. FM could go far by 1953, if it tried. At present, it is not trying.

It has often been charged that standard broadcasters, working hand-in-glove with set manufacturers, have stymied FM. Allegedly, the broadcasters want to keep their tight hold on the air, while the manufacturers prefer to sell the standard receivers to which their plants were geared. The allegations have been hotly denied by both of the accused. The manufacturers point to the fact that they are now turning out, and selling, more FM sets than ever, but the AM (standard) broadcaster's defense is less solid. As of last winter, 44 percent of all FM licenses were held by broadcasters in the AM business.

Beckhard notes in one of several letters he has written me that he can tune in on four FM stations. But on one night, three of them were broadcasting baseball, "than which there is nothing that needs FM less."

What's happening is that AM operators of FM stations simply feed the same shows to both AM and FM transmitters. That is true not only in regard to baseball broadcasts, but for all programming. At the height of the season you could get top network comedy and drama as well as symphonic music on your FM set. But in areas where static and other atmospheric interference are not especially rugged, you need FM only for symphonic music—and then only if you happen to be a person with perfect pitch or a listener with rare appreciation for the finer nuances of music. There is no reason why you should spend a lot of extra money to pick up a Jack Benny show on FM which is already available via AM. And that is exactly what the AM operators want you to conclude.

Standard broadcasting does not want the competition of FM's potentially new voice. It does not want FM to give the listener that "second chance" to recapture the airways, to bring the

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ether closer to the people who own it. Standard broadcasting wants to continue its monopoly, and is happy when FM is too lazy, or too cautious, or too prim, or too fight-fisted, or too poor to develop special kinds of programming and techniques of service that really do something for the community. AM radio would rather set the pace—along old paths.

The FM people who are not in AM have been suckers to go along with colleagues who have so much more to gain from feeding only the leavings to FM. They will have to tackle programming imaginatively, or find themselves totally bankrupt. There is an opportunity here for labor organizations, a number of which are building FM stations, to show the way. Among these groups are the United Auto Workers (CIO) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (AFL).

The ILGWU will hit the air before the year is over with six FM stations in as many cities. This union announced recently that it had been permitted by the Roosevelt family to use the initials WFDR for its New York outlet which may be ready to start broadcasting by early fall. Let's hope that the ILGWU's programs may be half as good as its call letters. With six stations on the air, the union could almost adopt "the orphan."

A year ago, in his preface to *Radio's Best Plays*, by Joseph Liss, Norman Corwin chided the leaders in broadcasting for not making more use of the available writing talent. "The artists are around," he noted, "and there is nothing occult about the process of dialing their telephone numbers." Well, broadcasters have yet to learn how to dial.

The best writing in radio is still being done on a non-commercial basis—which means infrequently, and usually at low pay. Three of the best programs in recent weeks were by two writers who are among the 20 or 30 who could shine at regular, week-to-week airing. But all three were "one-shots."

One of the shows was on CBS's "You Are There" series (Sundays at 2). It was "Toussaint L'Ouverture Liberates Haiti," by Liss and the producer-director of that series, Robert Lewis Shayon, starring Canada Lee.

The two other programs were by Allan E. Sloane. One of them was done for the United Nations children's-aid campaign, over CBS. For this 30 minutes of radio, Sloane traveled through Europe interviewing the children. He recorded their observations, and the show played the voices back for us, with Sloane's commentary spoken by Edward R. Murrow. Sloane's second show, for the United Jewish Appeal, starred Melvyn Douglas on NBC.

Both Sloane shows deserved more than single broadcasts. Both writers mentioned here deserve more than occasional access to the air. And there are, as I noted, at least 20 others. Is there a broadcaster around who wants to see my list of telephone numbers?

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES

Hot Weather Suggestions

FOR THE BOOK of "Summer Holiday," M-G-M has adapted the original screen adaptation of O'Neill's "Ah, Wilderness!" set it to music, tinted it with Technicolor and turned it over to Mickey Rooney. It is so far removed from the source that the credit line is no more than a pleasant gesture and comparisons become ill-tempered. "Summer Holiday" does contain O'Neill's famous passage on the poisonous oils to be found in bluefish, but otherwise it will have to stand on its own.

On its own, it is a garish, sometimes funny, often picturesque, always sentimental musical comedy. The cast bristles with stars—Gloria De Haven, Walter Huston, Frank Morgan, Butch Jenkins—and they go through their routines with the efficiency of sound vaudeville troupers. If your system can

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tolerate Mickey Rooney at all, he appears here in one of his most palatable forms.

Rouben Mamoulian, who directed with an appreciative eye for the old-fashioned charm of such small-town incidents as the Fourth of July picnic and the high-school graduation, slips badly once. That is when he presents a series of Grant Wood paintings—among them "Daughters of the American Revolution" and "American Gothic"—as tableaux vivants. These counterfeits are evidence of spectacular casting virtuosity, and they are so pointlessly brash that they make Rooney seem bashful.

On the other hand, Mamoulian interprets the scene between Rooney and a music-hall tart with gusto and imagination. The girl, as she sings to a frightened boy, seems to grow larger, her hair becomes blonder, her lips turn redder, her dress becomes fluorescent. It is a fine, violent scene, funny and suggestive and a little shocking.

"Summer Holiday" makes the irritating assumption that anger over social iniquity, like puppy love and a breaking voice, is an amusing quirk of adolescence. This could be taken as baleful propaganda, but it doesn't look very dangerous in the context of Rooney and Technicolor. The film can be taken on the face value of its title.

The message conveyed by Bing Crosby in "The Emperor Waltz" is that one decent American, with the downright name of Virgil Smith, is worth all the beribboned counts and bejeweled duchesses in the court of Franz Joseph of Austria. It isn't a novel concept, since both Mark Twain and Will Rogers have given it considerable currency, but Crosby manages to hit it hard enough to make it bounce back at him. You wonder guiltily, in some of Virgil's more democratic moments, whether the aristocrats, for all the repulsive blueness of their blood, might not have a case.

The story imagines Crosby as a pioneer phonograph salesman who has come to Austria to sell one of the devices to the Emperor. He is accompanied by a mongrel pup (it cocks its ear at the demonstration model) and he becomes entangled with a lady at court (Joan Fontaine) who owns a pedigreed poodle bitch. The plot revolves upon the amours of the two dogs, a kind of sexual coyness some minds find as hilarious as the spectacle of a small child singing off-color lyrics. Animals, by and large, manage these matters so much better than their betters that the joke seems not only tasteless but a little obscure.

Crosby has one good song, "The Friendly Mountains." Otherwise, the film is a testimonial to the comedy talents of Bob Hope.

Although he is the most vivid dramatic personality to emerge from France since the war, Jean-Louis Barrault is not having a happy time. Perhaps his personality is too strong; perhaps his face and carriage force him into the mold of embittered genius and poisoned love. If that is so, it will limit his talent but it need not destroy it. Romantic stories as captivating as "Children of Paradise" can be found for him; he need not founder in nickelodeon bohemianism and fin de siècle tears.

In the present "Blind Desire" (*"La Part de L'Ombre"*), as in the preceding "Fantastic Symphony," Barrault seems to be acting with a looking glass in his hand. His emotions are spurious, his actions are stilted; only his beauty is genuine, and that is forced on us with embarrassing insistence. It cannot be shown, however, that this is his fault, for "Blind Desire" is a piece of whining sentiment that would make a fool of any actor. Barrault is a mime and no one wants to make a journeyman plumber of him; but if he is to use his stylized approach to the theatre effectively he must be given something with a little style to work upon.

"Blind Desire" is another of those misleading titles the American distributors like to slap on French films in an attempt to make them seem "frenchy." It has nothing to do with the film and was probably written in the box office.

ROBERT HATCH

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CORRESPONDENCE

Author v. Critic

SIR: Since Mr. Carson in his radio column of your April 26 issue demonstrated his determination to make a subjective appraisal of my book, *The American Communications Conspiracy*, may I request space to answer him?

My book, wrote John T. McManus in *PM*, ". . . documents the case against the monopolistic radio industry better than anything I have dug into. . . ." But because my book criticized Mr. Carson's habitual columnar claques for the networks, he vengefully magnified a few trifles and completely misled your readers. . . .

Mr. Carson's unfairness may be illustrated by the fact that he claims I show that the defunct Philadelphia *Record* owns station WCAU, yet on page 127 I state specifically that it is owned by the Philadelphia *Bulletin*. Another example is his charging me with an error for not noting that Henry Luce sold his interest in ABC network. My point related to the fact that big publishers held interests in networks, and Luce did—which no one will deny. Also, Carson writes of a "a horribly dated list of 'missing' liberal commentators." My list noted commentators who were at one time or another taken off the air subsequent to the Un-American Committee's witch-hunt. . . .

Talking like God, Mr. Carson describes my position on editorializing as "fallacious." He projects his *opinion* as *fact*.

It would seem that not I, but Mr. Carson is adept at misquoting.

EUGENE KONECKY
Peoples Radio Foundation, Inc.
New York City

P. S. In the September 15, 1947, issue of *New Republic* Mr. Carson published a statement that Henry R. Luce was in the syndicate which purchased ABC. According to Mr. Carson's April 26, 1948, criticism of me, Mr. Luce in September, 1947, was no longer an ABC stockholder and had sold out his interest two years before! Mr. Carson said not a single word to that effect.

E. K.

SIR: Eugene Konecky's intentions are immaterial. The subject he tackled is of vital importance, and one had a right to expect flawlessness in thinking as well as accuracy in research.

It is true that it doesn't matter in

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principle whether the dead Philadelphia *Record* or the very much alive *Bulletin* owns WCAU, though the reader is not helped much by being told on page 113 that the former is the owner and on page 127 that it belongs to the latter. But there is a progression in the author's inattentiveness to detail, *viz.:*

I asserted here in September that Henry Luce *was* in the "syndicate that purchased the Blue" network. Konecky on page 63 says Luce *is* "in the syndicate that co-owns ABC."

The reason I am so familiar with Konecky's list of missing "liberal" commentators is that I compiled it, for *Variety,* about three years ago. I wouldn't think of using it without careful editing now; too many liberal complexions have changed color.

Lay such carelessness end to end, and you come out with a type of thinking that muffs the ball completely on an issue as strategic as editorialization by broadcasters. . . .

New York City SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

Half-Hearted

Mundt, co-author of the measure [Mundt-Nixon bill], claimed its aim was not to outlaw Communists but to "drive them from the dark into the open and from the face of the earth." – *AP dispatch from New York.*

Scramble Two!

Hedy LaMarr and Cary Grant are a new twosome. Those two profiles go together like ham and eggs. – *From Hedda Hopper's syndicated column.*

Memo to Vanport

Flood control is important, he [Taft] said, but "whether we do it this year or a few years later is not vital." – *From* PM.

Among Others

If the scientists keep their awful promises and guided missiles take the place of airplanes and pilots it will be a sad thing indeed for the movie fan. – *From the Kansas City* Star.

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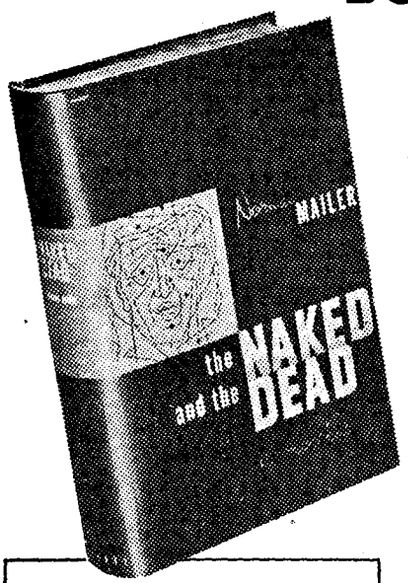

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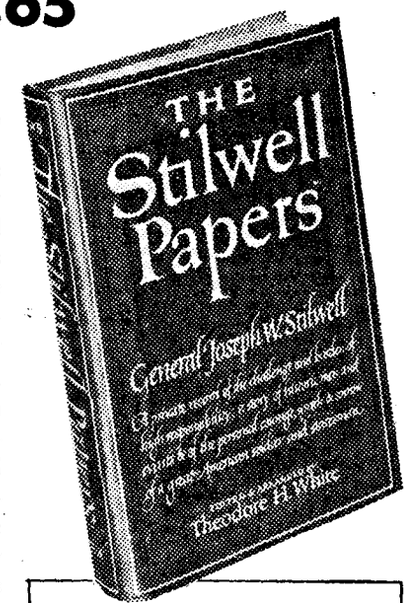

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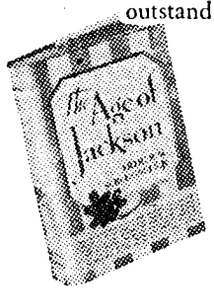

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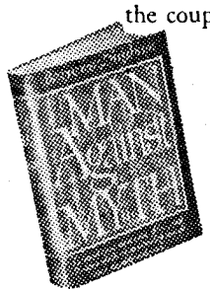

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